

## Internal migration and the transformation of Republican Italy

# Internal migration and the transformation of Republican Italy

William Broadhead  
University College London  
Ph.D.



## Abstract

This thesis argues that the scale of independently motivated geographical mobility within Italy during the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC was much greater than is usually thought, and that the impact of this type of movement on political developments was correspondingly more significant. The study of this private phenomenon, affecting the demographic face of Italy independently of Roman state control, also provides a new perspective on the wider process of transformation in this period, restoring as it does the element of individual choice.

The thesis begins by distinguishing the type of independent mobility in which it is interested from other types of population movement in the same period, before providing a brief review of work on mobility in Roman Italy and other parts of the Mediterranean world. Chapter 2 examines the various types of evidence for the phenomenon: literary, epigraphical, and archaeological.

Two central chapters exemplify the phenomenon – and its connection to economic change – using the full range of literary, epigraphical, and archaeological evidence to reveal patterns of mobility in two chosen areas: southern Latium, with the focus on the two important sites of Minturnae and Fregellae, and the region of the Po Valley.

The final section examines the relationship between the picture of a high level of mobility, as revealed in the case studies, and the political context of Roman rule in Italy in the middle Republic. First, it is argued that the so-called *ius migrandi* never existed as a privilege of the Latins, but was instead a restriction placed on colonies to maintain their demographic stability. Second, it is suggested that the difficulty of preventing individual migration had seriously disruptive consequences, especially for communities suffering from emigration in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, which in turn contributed significantly to the strain on Rome's middle Republican framework of control in Italy.

## Table of Contents

<i>List of tables, maps and figures</i>	6
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	7
<i>List of abbreviations</i>	9
 Chapter 1: Introduction	 11
Mobility in middle Republican Italy – some distinctions	11
Previous work on geographical mobility	17
 <b>Part I</b> <b>Patterns of migration and the context of change</b>	
 Chapter 2: Finding patterns of migration: sources and approaches	 33
The literary evidence	33
The epigraphical record	43
The archaeological record	46
Approaches to the study of internal migration	48
 Chapter 3: Southern Latium: Minturnae and the Liris Valley	 55
Minturnae: the expansion of the maritime colony	57
From guardpost to port city: the transformation of Minturnae	63
The middle Liris Valley: the case of Fregellae	69
Conclusion	81
 Chapter 4: The Po Valley: the land of opportunity to the north	 88
Background	90
The economic geography of the Po Valley	92
Vacant land by the early 2 <sup>nd</sup> century	97
The question of information	103
Some patterns of migration	108
Conclusion	120
 <b>Part II</b> <b>Political and Social Implications</b>	
 Chapter 5: The private phenomenon enters the political sphere	 122
 Chapter 6: Rome's migration policy and the so-called <i>ius migrandi</i>	 128
The evidence	128
Weaknesses of the traditional view	130
a) Who supposedly possessed the right?	130
b) When did the supposed right come into existence?	133
c) The alleged later restriction of the right	136
A different perspective	142
What is the <i>lex</i> of Livy 41.8.9?	148



Chapter 7: The crisis of migration and the political response	154
Demographic awareness	154
Concern to prevent emigration from local populations	156
Why the concern to prevent emigration from local populations?	158
Difficulty of preventing emigration on a local level	163
The crisis – principles and practical responses	165
Conclusion	172
 Chapter 8: Conclusion	 174
Social implications: family ties	177
Implications for the study of economic change	179
The transformation of Republican Italy	182
 <i>Bibliography</i>	 184

## List of tables, maps and figures

### *Tables* page

- |  |    |
|--|----|
| 1. Italian towns mentioned by Strabo as having grown                     | 52 |
| 2. Italian towns mentioned by Strabo as having shrunk or disappeared     | 52 |
| 3. Italian towns mentioned by Pliny ( <i>NH</i> 3) as having disappeared | 53 |

### *Maps*

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. Southern Italy including southern Latium | 84  |
| 2. The Po Valley                            | 121 |

### *Figures*

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| 1. Origin and destination factors and intervening obstacles in migration   | 54  |
| 2. A longitudinal representation of the migration process  | 54  |
| 3. Plan of Minturnae showing <i>castrum</i> of 296 and expansion to west   | 85  |
| 4. Minturnae: the <i>castrum</i> and the Republican forum  | 85  |
| 5. Fregellae: general plan of the city   | 86  |
| 6. Fregellae: plan of the central quarter  | 87  |
| 7. Non-Etruscan inscriptions of the 7 <sup>th</sup> -6 <sup>th</sup> c. found in southern Etruria, Lazio, and the Sabina | 127 |

## Acknowledgements

I owe my thanks to a number of institutions and individuals who have directly and indirectly provided invaluable support over the past four years. The research here presented was carried out with the financial assistance of a Graduate School Research Scholarship from University College London, held from 1997 to 2000, and of a four-month Rome Award at the British School in Rome, held from January to April 2001.

The Institute of Classical Studies in London played a central role in almost every aspect of the endeavour. The members of the library staff of the Joint Library of the Hellenic and Roman Societies provided friendly assistance whenever the need arose and contributed greatly to making the library there a setting in which I consider myself very fortunate to have been able to carry out my research. The postgraduate participants in the Institute's weekly Work-in-Progress Seminar, through the open sharing of their ideas in the seminar, taught me much about their areas of research as well as about my own. In less formal settings, these same individuals provided countless hours of companionship and support. Beyond the Institute, I thank Angela Poulter for many hours of mutual support over the last couple of years especially. I am fully aware of the high degree to which I owe my sanity and general contentedness to these friends and colleagues.

Another group of individuals to whom I owe a great debt of thanks is the team of excavators with whom I have had the pleasure of working for the last three summers on the site of the Civita di Tricarico. It has been not only from the extensive knowledge and archaeological expertise of the director, Prof. Olivier de Cazanove, that I have benefitted, but also from the time spent and friendships built with the group of very sharp young people who work with him, among whom I thank especially Stéphane Bourdin, Julien Dubouloz, Sylvia Estienne, and Anne Pallud.

Prof. Jane Chaplin read the products of some of my earlier efforts and asked a number of questions that greatly clarified my thinking at an important stage in the process. Prof. Filippo Coarelli very kindly lent me two hours of his time one afternoon in Rome, during which he shared some of his extensive

knowledge of southern Latium and of the sites of Minturnae and Fregellae in particular. My Chapter 3 is considerably less naïve as a result. Prof. Emilio Gabba equally kindly read and commented on my Chapter 4, with a similar result.

I am also very grateful for the intellectual benefit and the enjoyment that has come from spending time discussing a wide range of matters with Dr. Emmanuele Curti, my second supervisor, and with Dr. Emma Dench, an unofficial third.

Prof. Michael Crawford has been an ideal supervisor throughout the four years of the research. He could not have been more generous with his time and expertise, nor more proactive in his support of my work not only on the thesis but in all of my academic undertakings of the last four years.

Finally, I thank Yumna Khan, the finest companion I could ever have hoped to be able to spend time with.



## Abbreviations

G. Bandelli, <i>Ricerche</i>	G. Bandelli, <i>Ricerche sulla colonizzazione romana della Gallia Cisalpina: le fasi iniziali e il caso aquileiese</i> (Trieste 1988).
<i>Les bourgeoisies</i>	<i>Les bourgeoisies municipales italiennes aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> siècles av. J.-C.</i> , Atti del Convegno, Napoli, 7-10 dicembre 1981 (Paris-Naples 1983).
P. Brunt, <i>IM</i>	P. Brunt, <i>Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14</i> (Oxford 1971; reissued with postscript 1987).
<i>Demografia</i>	D. Vera (ed.), <i>Demografia, sistemi agrari, regimi alimentari nel mondo antico</i> (Bari 1999).
<i>Fregellae 1</i>	F. Coarelli and P.G. Monti (eds.), <i>Fregellae 1. Le fonti, la storia, il territorio</i> (Rome 1998).
<i>Fregellae 2</i>	F. Coarelli (ed.), <i>Fregellae 2. Il santuario di Esculapio</i> (Rome 1986).
<i>Minturnae</i>	F. Coarelli (ed.), <i>Minturnae</i> (Rome 1989).
T. Mommsen, <i>RSt</i>	T. Mommsen, <i>Römische Staatsrecht</i> , 3 vols. (Leipzig 1887).
<i>Optima Via</i>	G. Sena Chiesa and E.A. Arslan, <i>Optima via (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Postumia. Storia e archeologia di una grande strada romana alle radici dell'Europa, Cremona 1996)</i> (Cremona 1998).
<i>ORF</i> <sup>3</sup>	E. Malcovati (ed.), <i>Oratorum romanorum fragmenta liberae rei publicae</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed. (Turin 1967).
<i>Roman Statutes</i>	M.H. Crawford (ed.), <i>Roman Statutes</i> , vols. I-II (London 1996).
A.N. Sherwin-White, <i>RC</i>	A.N. Sherwin-White, <i>The Roman Citizenship</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford 1973).
<i>Die Stadt</i>	W. Eck and H. Galsterer (edd.), <i>Die Stadt in Oberitalien und in den nordwestlichen Provinzen des römischen Reiches</i> , Deutsch-Italienisches Kolloquium, Köln, 18-20 maggio 1989 (Mainz am Rhein 1991).

- TLE*<sup>2</sup> M. Pallottino (ed.), *Testimonia linguae Etruscae*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Florence 1968).
- A.J. Toynbee, *HL* A.J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, vols. I-II (Oxford 1965).

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The appeal of the subject of geographical mobility for the student of the history of Roman Italy is based on the simple observation that a series of changes in the distribution and composition of the population form one of the most important aspects of the transformation of Italy in the Republican period. The answer to the question ‘Who lived where in Italy’ is very different for the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC from what it is for the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

### *Population movement in middle Republican Italy – some distinctions*

There are several different channels of migration that play a significant role in the population history of Italy in the period between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Some of these channels have over the years attracted considerable scholarly attention. The type of mobility on which this thesis will focus has, on the contrary, been largely neglected. Some distinctions are therefore necessary at the outset if we are to be clear about the definition and about the nature of the phenomenon under examination. Furthermore, it is important always to keep in mind at the same time the nature and a rough idea of the scale of those types of mobility which were operating alongside that which will be the main focus here.

In any regional study of migration, a first major distinction is to be made between migration within the region and migration across the borders of the region. Studies of migration in the modern period make the basic distinction between internal migration and international migration, a distinction that is obviously possible only in cases where there are clear national boundaries within which or across which migrants can be said to be moving.<sup>1</sup> In the case of Italy in the period of the Roman Republic, the concept of the nation is not applicable until the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and even then is an imperfect description of the political

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Jones, *Population Geography*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1990) pp. 178-255.



situation that existed following the Social War. By the time of Augustus, however, there did exist a politico-administrative region that was distinguished from the transmarine and transalpine provinces of the empire, and so comprised almost all of the Italian peninsula south of the range of the Alps. Since the wider aim of the present work is to contribute to our understanding of the long-term process that culminated in the acceptance of this conception of Italy as a politico-administrative unit, the use of that later unit's boundaries as the distinction between internal and 'international' migration is justifiable. Furthermore, the inclusion of the Po Valley, which is often excluded from studies of Republican Italy, is defensible on other grounds as well. Already in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, Cato could describe the Alps as the walls that defended Italy.<sup>2</sup> Earlier still, in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the treatment of the Po Valley by the Roman state, in particular the extension (without extraordinary comment) of the programme of colonization to that area, suggests that in official eyes there was little to distinguish the territory north of the Appennines from that to their south.

As for migration across the boundaries of the region thus defined, movement in both directions, into and out from Italy, is generally thought to have been of a considerable volume, especially in the second half of our period.<sup>3</sup> Wilson and Brunt have described the overseas emigration of (predominantly) businessmen and soldiers in the Republican period. For scale, Brunt offers a conservative estimate of around 125,000 for the number of individuals who had emigrated overseas from Italy by 69 BC.<sup>4</sup> As for movement in the other direction, far and away the most significant was the influx of slaves from the empire, which might have reached a volume as high as 20,000 to 25,000 new slaves per year through the last two decades of the Republic.<sup>5</sup> Alongside the influx of slaves, the immigration of free foreigners – craftsmen, businessmen,

---

<sup>2</sup> Cato, *Origines*, fr. 85 Peter, 4.10 Chassignet (= Servius, *ad Verg. Aen.* 10.13): *Alpes quae secundum Catonem et Livium muri vice tuebantur Italiam*.

<sup>3</sup> The basic works on overseas emigration are A.J.N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester 1966) and P. Brunt, *IM*, pp. 204-33.

<sup>4</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 233. The figure of 125,000 does not include migration to the Po Valley, which I consider to be within the category of internal migration. See below.

<sup>5</sup> The basic guesses from which most studies begin are that the number of slaves in Italy on the eve of the Hannibalic War was around 500,000 and that the number of slaves by the age of Augustus was 2 million. For these guesses, see P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 67, and K.J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig 1886) pp. 416-8. See also W. Scheidel, 'The demography of Roman slavery and manumission', in M. Bellancourt-Valdher and J.-N. Corvisier, *La démographie historique antique* (Arras 1999) pp. 107-15 for a recent re-appraisal of

intellectuals – also reached significant levels, above all in the case of immigration to the city of Rome itself.<sup>6</sup>

Within the boundaries of Italy south of the Alps, migration occurred through several different channels. Before turning to the particular type of migration that will be the focus of this thesis, it is important to note three other channels of population movement within Italy that were also significant features of the same period. Probably the most obvious of these other channels, and the one that continues to attract the most scholarly attention, is colonization. Between the end of Rome's war against the Latins in 338 BC and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the Roman state founded at least fifty-five colonies on sites up and down the length of Italy.<sup>7</sup> Some of these settlements were typically small maritime colonies of 300 families while others were much larger inland settlements of up to 6,000 colonists.<sup>8</sup> Exact figures are not preserved for all of the individual colonies; but enough figures do survive for us to make a rough estimate of the total numbers involved. If the settlements for which figures are not preserved were on a similar scale to those for which figures are preserved, then the total number of individuals (adult males) settled by the Roman state in colonial foundations in this period was something just under 135,000. If we add to this figure an estimate of the additional colonists sent out as later *supplementa* to already existing colonies, we arrive at an estimated total of just under 150,000 adult males relocated to colonial settlements.

A second major channel of migration in this period was the viri-tane settlement of colonists on plots of land not attached, initially at least, to any particular fresh urban foundation. As an element of the Roman conquest of Italy, this type of settlement goes back to the fourth century with the cases of the distribution to Romans of the *ager Veientanus* in 390 and the settlement of Romans in the Pomptine region of southern Latium in 358.<sup>9</sup> At the very beginning of the period in which we are interested here, following the defeat of

---

the question and for the annual figure of 20-25,000 new slaves.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, D. Noy, *Foreigners at Rome* (London 2000); B. Frier, 'Demography,' in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> XI (2000) pp. 808-11.

<sup>7</sup> The standard general work is E.T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (London 1969). See also A.J. Toynbee, *HL*, II, pp. 654-7, Table V, for a list of colonial and viri-tane (see below) settlements in Italy between 220 and 91 BC.

<sup>8</sup> The figure of 20,000 colonists at Venusia in 291 that is preserved by Dion. Hal. 17-18.5 is probably rightly considered to be corrupt.

<sup>9</sup> *Ager Veientanus*: Livy 5.30.8; Diodorus 14.102.4; Pomptine region: Livy 7.15.12.



the Latins in 338 BC, land in Latium and Campania (Capua and the *ager Falernus*) was distributed *viritim* to Roman citizens.<sup>10</sup> The next viritane distributions we know of then came a century later when Flaminius pushed through his law in 232 for the distribution of the *ager Picenus et Gallicus* to the poor of Rome.<sup>11</sup> Some Romans were settled in the territory of Capua as part of the punishment of that city following its defection to Hannibal. Then in 200, following the conclusion of the Hannibalic War, there came the settlement of Scipio's veterans on plots of land in Samnium and Apulia.<sup>12</sup> And finally, as far as we know, there was a second viritane distribution of land in the north, this time of the *ager Ligustinus et Gallicus* in 173, consisting of land along the *via Aemilia* and in Liguria.<sup>13</sup>

The scale of movement as part of the various viritane distributions is notoriously difficult to quantify. The sources preserve no figures whatsoever for the number of settlers involved. Of the distribution of the *ager Picenus et Gallicus* in 232, Polybius only hints at a significantly large scale when he records that it was at that time that the Gauls of the Po Valley began to fear total extermination by the Romans. We can only guess, reasonably, that viritane settlements were responsible for the transplanting of some further tens of thousands of individuals to new homes.

A third significant channel of population movement, also directly linked to the Roman conquest of Italy between the late 4<sup>th</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, is the forced deportation of defeated enemies by the Roman state. Such deportations were employed by Rome as a means of control with some frequency. In 338, after the defeat of the Latins, the senators of Velitrae, whose repeated hostility to Rome was considered by the latter to have been particularly worthy of severe punishment, were deported from their home on the southern

---

<sup>10</sup> Livy 8.11.13-14.

<sup>11</sup> Polyb. 2.21.7 refers to the territory as ἡ Πικεντίνη προσαγορευομένη χώρα; Cic. *Cato*, 11 and *Brut.*, 57 refer to distribution of the *ager Picenus et Gallicus*, while Cato (at Varro, *RR*, 1.2.7 = *Origines*, fr. 43 Peter, 2.14 Chassignet) calls it the *ager Gallicus Romanus*, and identifies it with the stretch of land between Ariminum and Picenum. See below, Chapter 4.

<sup>12</sup> Livy 31.4.1-3; 31.49.5.

<sup>13</sup> Livy 42.4.3-4. U. Ewins, 'The early colonisation of Cisalpine Gaul,' *PBSR* 20 (1952) pp. 59ff. See below, Chapter 4.

L.R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome 1960) pp. 47-68, suggests that the creation of two new tribes in each of the years 358, 338, 318, 299, and 241 might also be a reflection of viritane assignments to Roman citizens in those years of land in conquered territories. See P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 28, n. 2 for less confidence in this hypothesis.

side of the Alban hills to the far side of the Tiber.<sup>14</sup> In the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, what Strabo describes as a small branch (μικρὸν ἀπόσπασμα) of the Picentini living on the Adriatic coast north of Rome were deported to a strip of land south of what was to become Salernum.<sup>15</sup> Still in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century, in 264 and 241 respectively, the communities of Volsinii and Falerii were transplanted the relatively short distances to the new sites of Volsinii Novi and Falerii Novi.<sup>16</sup> In 210 BC, as part of their punishment for having sided with Hannibal, the members of the aristocracy of Capua were, depending on their role in the affair, deported some across the Tiber to Etruria, some across the Liris to southern Latium, and others across the Volturnus into northern Campania.<sup>17</sup> As part of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century re-conquest of the Po Valley in the north, deportation was again employed on several occasions. In 180, in one of the better known examples of deportation, Livy records that some 47,000 of the Ligures Apuani were deported by Rome from Liguria to the heart of Samnium; and even if Livy's figure includes women and children (and even if it is an exaggeration), the episode remains a significant case of relocation nonetheless.<sup>18</sup> On other occasions, groups of Ligures were deported the much shorter distance from their more easily defensible mountain homes in Liguria to the open plains north of the Po: in 187 a *multitudo*, in 180 a group of 3,200 and in 172 *multa milia hominum*.<sup>19</sup> Thus forced deportation too accounted for the movement of many thousands of individuals from one part of the Italian peninsula to another.

The three different channels of internal population movement listed so far have one important characteristic in common: the initiative of the Roman state. The movement of population through these channels was manifestly always the result of some official deliberation, decision-making, and planning on the part of the Roman government. As such, colonization, viri-tane settlement,

---

<sup>14</sup> Livy 8.14.5.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo 5.4.13. The two most likely candidates for the date of the deportation recorded by Strabo are 268, following the victory of the consuls P. Sempronius Sophus and Ap. Claudius Russus over the Picentini, or 232, at the time of Flaminius' viri-tane distribution of the *ager Picenus et Gallicus*; see A.J. Toynbee, *HL*, I, p. 386, n. 8.

<sup>16</sup> For Volsinii: Zonaras 8.7.4-8. For Falerii: Polyb. 1.65; Livy, *Per.* 20; Eutropius 2.28; Orosius 4.11.10; Zonaras 8.18.1 (Zonaras is the only source to mention the transfer of population); see also S. Keay et al., 'Falerii Novi: a new survey of the walled area', *PBSR* 68 (2000) pp. 1-93.

<sup>17</sup> Livy 26.34.6-10.

<sup>18</sup> Livy 40.38.1-9, 40.41.1-6. See A. Barzanò, 'Il trasferimento dei Ligures Apuani nel Sannio del 180-179 a.C.', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico* (Milan 1995) pp. 177-201, esp. n. 4; and below, Chapter 4.



and forced deportations represent the different ways in which the Roman state could and did control the distribution and composition of the population of Italy. They are the ways in which Rome could plan the human map of the peninsula; and several of the examples – beyond the obvious planning of the strategic distribution of manpower involved in every example of colonization – do suggest that the members of the Roman ruling class did in fact think of what they were doing in those terms. There must have been some careful deliberation behind the plans for the differentiated deportation of the élite of Capua in 210 depending on their level of treachery and for the removal of the hostile Ligures from their mountain homes in the 180s. To these examples, we can also add the debate in the senate in 183 over whether the colony that was to be founded at Aquileia should be of citizen or Latin status.<sup>20</sup> We shall see later on, in chapter 7, how the Roman state came to lose control of the human map of Italy as a result of its inability to bring under control the type of population movement to which we turn now.

The type of internal population movement that is the focus of the present work differs from the three listed so far in one fundamentally important way. A simple definition of the phenomenon of internal migration would be: the migration of individuals, or of individual families, on their own initiative, from one community to another within the geographical limits of Italy as set out above. Internal migration, then, is mobility that occurred *independently* of the Roman state. Hence it is often also called private migration,<sup>21</sup> or individual migration, or free migration.<sup>22</sup> It is exactly in this independent aspect of the phenomenon that lies its greatest interest: it has the potential to provide a different perspective on the transformation of Italy in this period, not through the eyes of the Roman state, but through the eyes of the average inhabitant of the peninsula who, seeing his world changing around him, concluded that his situation would improve were he to live elsewhere.

One further precision in the definition of internal migration is required regarding distance and time. We have just described internal migration as

---

<sup>19</sup> Livy 39.2.9 (187); 40.53.3 (180), 42.22.5-6 (172).

<sup>20</sup> Livy 39.55.5-6.

<sup>21</sup> K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge 1978) pp. 66-67.

<sup>22</sup> G. Bandelli, 'La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale,' in *Demografia*, p. 207 ('migrazione libera').

independent migration from one community to another. The essential point is the crossing of some politico-administrative boundary, as opposed to the more local phenomenon of movement between the territory and the urban centre, or vice-versa, of the *same* community. With regard to the temporal criterion, it is generally preferable to distinguish moves made with the intention of permanence from those made seasonally or temporarily.<sup>23</sup> This distinction is not always readily apparent in the evidence at our disposal from ancient Italy. For this reason, we must always keep in mind the fact that there will have been examples of independent mobility (e.g. seasonal agricultural labour) which do not form part of the phenomenon of internal migration as we would like to define it.

*Previous work on geographical mobility:*

Migration has for a long time been the poor cousin of Roman demographic studies. Despite the role of migration as one of the three essential elements of the 'Basic Demographic Equation', it has been the other two elements of that equation, fertility and mortality, that have attracted by far the most scholarly attention.<sup>24</sup> The limited space dedicated to migration in the recent summaries of Roman demography by Parkin, Frier, and Scheidel, for example, is reflective of this trend among works on the subject.<sup>25</sup> Part of the problem is the impossibility of quantifying migration in the same way that the total population can be quantified, however speculatively, based on the preserved Roman census figures and/or on estimates of mortality and fertility based on comparative studies. As a result, the main areas of debate in the field of Roman demography have in the past tended to avoid the tricky question of mobility, and have focused instead on fertility and mortality rates or on the size of the static population, this latter especially so in the case of Roman Italy, where the main area of debate has

---

<sup>23</sup> H. Jones, *Population Geography* (above n. 1) pp. 179-81.

<sup>24</sup> The Basic Demographic Equation states that population change is equal to natural increase (births – deaths) + net migration. See, for example, C. Newell, *Methods and Models in Demography* (London 1988); on migration, see esp. pp. 82ff.

<sup>25</sup> B. Frier, 'Demography,' (above n. 6) pp. 787-816 offers nine pages on mortality, twelve on fertility, and only two and a half on migration. W. Scheidel, 'Progress and problems in Roman demography,' in idem (ed), *Debating Roman Demography* (Leiden 2001) pp. 1-81 offers nineteen dense pages on mortality, fifteen on fertility, and only two and a half (pessimistic) pages on migration. T.G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (Baltimore and London 1992) does not attempt to deal with the subject at all (see pp. 135-6).



been the interpretation of the great leap in the census figures from 910,000 in 70/69 BC to 4,063,000 in 28 BC, and on the implications of that leap for the overall size of the population.<sup>26</sup> Studies of such questions commonly acknowledge the potential importance of migration, lament the absence of statistical data for migration, and proceed to formulate arguments about the other aspects of Roman demography without really accommodating the possibility of high levels of mobility and the implications thereof.

The pessimism recently expressed by Scheidel with regard to the possibilities of studying migration in the Roman period is an extreme example of what is a fairly common general attitude towards the subject. In his summary of the state of Roman demographic studies, Scheidel begins a brief section on migration with the following: 'For the student of Roman demography, migration primarily serves the purpose of further messing up existing data samples, most of which are highly inadequate to begin with. The mere possibility of migration undermines attempts to reconstruct age structures and sex ratios from census returns or cemeteries.'<sup>27</sup> In other words, migration is of crucial importance because if we knew more about migration in antiquity, we might have to reassess all that (we think) we know about the other aspects of Roman demography. The nature of our evidence, however, precludes detailed quantitative studies of the phenomenon. What then of attempting to understand as much as possible about non-quantitative aspects of geographical mobility in an effort to establish, with as much precision as the evidence will allow, at least the parameters within which the phenomenon operated and so to what extent it needs to be accommodated in studies of other aspects? Here too, Scheidel is not optimistic, convinced instead of 'the very limited utility of non-quantitative work on this issue'.<sup>28</sup> For the student of formal demography, frustration in the face of migration seems to be complete and unavoidable.

From other quarters, however, there comes a decidedly more optimistic outlook. A number of works have appeared in recent years that do attempt to deal with the important demographic phenomenon of migration in the ancient

---

<sup>26</sup> W. Scheidel, 'Progress and problems in Roman demography,' (above n. 25) pp. 1-81, provides a full account of current debates.

<sup>27</sup> W. Scheidel, 'Progress and problems in Roman demography,' (above n. 25) p. 46.

<sup>28</sup> W. Scheidel, 'Progress and problems in Roman demography,' (above n. 25) p. 48, n. 190, referring particularly to M. Sordi (ed.), *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico* (Milan



world. Most do not attempt to overcome the impediments to quantification, but concentrate instead on the qualitative aspects of mobility and on the implications of the phenomenon for our understanding of other aspects of the history of the ancient world. The key for most of these works, as for the present thesis, lies in the nature of the problems they set out to investigate. In response to Scheidel's dismissal of non-quantitative works on migration as of 'very limited utility', the question must be asked: utility for what? As an historical phenomenon, migration has a significance that extends, in several directions, well beyond its place in the 'Basic Demographic Equation'. For now, one example from Republican Italy can be called upon to illustrate the point. In 199 BC, delegates from the Latin colony of Narnia complained before the Roman senate that 'their colonists were not up to number and that some outsiders, who had mingled in with them, were behaving as if they were colonists'.<sup>29</sup> In the absence of any more detailed evidence, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that the difference in number between the original colonists who had left Narnia and the outsiders who had moved in was zero, or was so small as to render insignificant any calculation of net migration at Narnia in the years leading up to 199. If we imagine further (implausibly) that the immigrants were of the same age and sex as the emigrants, then the case of migration at Narnia would have nothing to offer the student of formal demography. It would and does, however, (even in the improbable case of exact replacement) have to be considered a significant factor in the study of almost any other aspect of the history of Narnia in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. A greater appreciation of migration, even without close quantification, can therefore be of great utility in the investigation of a whole series of historical problems, and could in fact have serious implications for the study of formal demography, as a number of recent works have shown.

In their chronologically wide-ranging study of the Mediterranean world, Horden and Purcell present a picture in which horizontal mobility (through a range of channels) appears as a much more common feature than has been acknowledged in most previous work.<sup>30</sup> Their picture is built on two general

---

1994).

<sup>29</sup> Livy 32.2.6: *...ad numerum sibi colonos non esse et immixtos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se gerere.*

<sup>30</sup> P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (London 2000) pp. 377-400.

observations about the Mediterranean in the ancient and medieval periods. First, the Mediterranean coastlands consist of a series of microregions, among which there existed great ecological diversity from one region to the next. Second, the level of connectivity between these different microregions was high. The combination of microregional diversity, which includes differing patterns of good and bad harvests from one region to another, and connectivity results in a situation of great fluidity in the redistribution of resources. The mobility of people, both as the distributors of resources and as a resource in themselves, is an essential component of the model. This mobility is admittedly not quantifiable, but is nonetheless central to any study of change (or continuity) in Mediterranean history.

Not surprisingly, then, for Horden and Purcell it is the quantitative work on historical demography – at the core of formal demography – that is too often of limited utility: ‘Where are the people? On the move. Where then do we count them? This question is more difficult, and is the cause of considerable wasted effort’.<sup>31</sup> Their conception of the Mediterranean thus illustrates exactly how the reality of high levels of migration messes up the data of the formal demographers:<sup>32</sup>

...take the notional population in a defined place at a moment in historical time. As the seasons change (therefore in a matter of months) many of those assessed in that figure will be altogether elsewhere – pursuing seasonal agricultural goals ten, a hundred, two hundred miles away; or following the lure or compulsion of political or military activity two hundred, five hundred or a thousand miles away; on pilgrimage, sold into slavery, emigrating, engaged in the redistribution of surpluses...There is no difficulty in imagining momentary aggregates changing by many per cent through circumstances like these, and no reason – over a period of years, now, not months – to divide populations into a large sedentary core and a substantial mobile group. The proportion of those who are sometimes mobile, in the course of individual lifetimes, may in some cases be very high.

The study of that potentially large mobile group should then be of primary, not marginal, importance in the field of historical population studies.

Several studies that concentrate on this mobile part of populations, but with a more specific geographical and chronological scope than the work of

---

<sup>31</sup> P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (above n. 30) p. 382.

<sup>32</sup> P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (above n. 30) p. 382.



Horden and Purcell, have also appeared in recent years. Two volumes edited by Sordi, for example, one on immigration and emigration and the other on various examples of forced migrations, bring together a series of individual articles on various non-quantitative aspects of geographical mobility in different parts of the ancient world from the archaic period through to late antiquity.<sup>33</sup> For the Greek world, two important articles have developed a picture of at least potentially high levels of personal mobility throughout the archaic and classical periods. Purcell, in this case concentrating on the first half of the first millennium and presenting many of the ideas that appear in fuller form in *The Corrupting Sea*, points out that the homogeneities of language, material culture and settlement pattern across the extensive area described now as the Greek world imply a background of mobility already in the archaic period, as do many of the institutions of the polis, particularly the polis of Athens with its exclusive citizenship (made even more so through the myth of autochthony) and its creation of the unique status of metic.<sup>34</sup> The second work relevant to the Greek world is that by Osborne, which is expressly about mobility in classical Attika, but which makes at the same time a methodological point that is much more widely applicable.<sup>35</sup> The methodological point is that the kind of evidence collected in the increasingly more common surface surveys of parts of classical Greece can be misleading if interpreted without an appreciation of the possibility that levels of mobility were very high, and that this mobility is not likely to be reflected in the rather crude record offered by surface finds of pottery. The observation is based on a comparison between the full and detailed evidence from a series of late medieval and early modern villages, mainly in England, and the much less clear evidence from classical Attika. The data from the late medieval and early modern villages consists of listings of local inhabitants that run over a number of years. These listings show that the level of population turnover through immigration and emigration was high, even in apparently stable communities (communities, that is, for which the archaeological record might reveal no hint of population

---

<sup>33</sup> M. Sordi (ed), *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico* (Milan 1994) and *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico* (Milan 1995).

<sup>34</sup> N. Purcell, 'Mobility and the polis', in O. Murray and S. Price, *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) pp. 27-56.

<sup>35</sup> R. Osborne, 'The potential mobility of human populations', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10 (1991) pp. 231-52.

dynamism).<sup>36</sup> The evidence from classical Attika consists, on the one hand, of gravestones on which the demotic of the deceased is preserved and, on the other, of manumission records that preserve the demotic or place of residence of the owner and the place of residence of the slave. The samples are small and not unproblematic, but are at the same time not inconsistent with a picture in which the scale of mobility in classical Attika was as high as that revealed by the better evidence from the late medieval and early modern villages. The significance for Osborne is that, although the nature of the evidence for classical Greek mobility prevents its quantification, the potential importance of the phenomenon requires its being accommodated as a major feature of the period.

For the later context of the Roman world of the Imperial period (we will turn to Republican Italy below), a few studies of mobility have recently appeared that are closely based on the epigraphical record, whose far greater abundance in the imperial period than in earlier periods allows for greater precision and detail. These studies, working from surveys of inscriptions that preserve evidence of migration, have revealed much about individual mobility in specific regions or about specific patterns of movement between regions. Stanley, for example, in his study of the tombstones of the province of Lusitania, has shown that many individuals, even outside the military and administrative sphere, had emigrated from their home towns.<sup>37</sup> In similar fashion, Wierschowski and Calbi have put together systematic surveys of the epigraphic evidence relevant to individual migrants from Gaul and the southern Po Valley (modern Emilia-Romagna) respectively to reveal high levels of mobility into, within, and out from those regions, at least on the part of the upper classes and traders.<sup>38</sup> The danger of such studies is that they provide a somewhat distorted picture, offering as they do useful data only about the behaviour of that segment of society wealthy enough, and concerned enough, to set up tombstones recording their *patria*.<sup>39</sup> Also working from systematic study of the epigraphical record, Ricci has produced a

---

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the case of the Latin colony at Narnia, cited above.

<sup>37</sup> F.H. Stanley Jnr., 'Geographical mobility in Roman Lusitania: an epigraphical perspective', *ZPE* 82 (1990) pp. 249-69.

<sup>38</sup> L. Wierschowski, *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Historia Einzelschrift* 91 (Stuttgart 1995); A. Calbi, *Mobilità di persone e di famiglie della Cispadana romana* (Bologna 1997).

<sup>39</sup> See W. Scheidel, 'Progress and problems in Roman demography,' (above n. 25) p. 48, n. 191, for criticism of Wierschowski's conclusion that the rural population of Gaul was largely immobile.



series of articles over the past decade that provide data on the immigration to Rome of provincials from Gaul, Spain, Egypt, the Balkans, Germany, and Africa,<sup>40</sup> much of which has in turn been used by Noy in his recent study of the experience of immigrant foreigners at Rome.<sup>41</sup> Other work along similar lines has also contributed to making substantial headway towards a fuller picture of migration in the Imperial period.<sup>42</sup>

As for Italy in the period of the Roman Republic, however, there has been far less scholarly interest in attempting to build up a clear picture of internal migration. Works that touch on the phenomenon at all fall into two groups that reflect two very different perspectives. The first group consists of studies that take a politico-juridical and firmly Romano-centric perspective of the period. The works in question here are the almost innumerable accounts of the institutional history of Rome under the Republic that invariably include a treatment of the so-called *ius migrandi* (or *ius migrationis* or simply *migratio*), the supposed right of Latins to migrate to Roman territory and to acquire the Roman citizenship by registration in the census there. The most important of these works will be reviewed in chapter 6, where it will be shown that the standard interpretation of the evidence commonly cited in support of the existence of the so-called *ius migrandi* is completely back to front and has given rise to an assumption of the existence of a right for which there is no evidence.

Along with their misguided treatments of the so-called *ius migrandi*, the studies that come from an institutional and Romano-centric perspective have also tended to offer an interpretation of the motivations of migrants that needs to be discussed (and dismissed) here; namely, that the primary motivation for migration in this period was political. In other words, this view holds that the

---

<sup>40</sup> The articles by C. Ricci include 'Dalle Gallie a Roma', *RAN* 25 (1992) pp. 302-23; 'Hispani a Roma', *Gérion* 10 (1992) pp. 103-43; 'Egiziani a Roma', *Aegyptus* 73 (1993) pp. 71-91; 'Balcanici e Danubiani a Roma', in L. Mrozewicz and K. Ilski (eds.), *Prosopographica* (Poznan 1993) pp. 141-208; 'Germani a Roma', *Polis (Universidad de Alcalá de Henares)* 5 (1993) pp. 205-25; and 'Africani a Roma. Testimonianze epigrafiche di età imperiale di personaggi provenienti dal Nordafrica', *AntAf* 30 (1994) pp. 189-207. All are based on the work for her thesis, *Stranieri a Roma. Dalle province occidentali nell'Urbe nei primi tre secoli dell'Impero* (Università La Sapienza, Rome 1991).

<sup>41</sup> D. Noy, *Foreigners at Rome* (above n. 6).

<sup>42</sup> For further bibliography, see P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (above n. 30), pp. 616-8 and W. Scheidel, 'Progress and problems in Roman demography,' (above n. 25) pp. 46-8. I have not yet seen C. Moatti, 'Le contrôle de la mobilité des personnes dans l'empire romain', *MEFRA* (forthcoming 2000), which promises to address the questions of the means of establishing identity and of the capacity of administrative bodies to control migration.



majority of individuals who relocated did so in order to improve their legal status in relation to Rome. The view that there existed a strong connection between migration and the improvement of personal juridical status is largely a result of the reliance of its proponents on a few passages of Livy's account of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, from an uncritical reading of which a certain pattern does appear. Livy records that in 199, some individuals of non-Latin allied status from the territory of Umbria had immigrated to the Latin colony of Narnia; that in 177 some individuals of non-Latin allied status from the territory of the Samnites and Paelignians had immigrated to the Latin colony of Fregellae; and that on at least two occasions, in 187 and 177, large numbers of Latin immigrants were known to be resident at Rome.<sup>43</sup> Based on these passages, the view has often prevailed in the past that patterns of migration in Italy were limited to these two patterns: of the non-Latin allies moving into Latin towns, and of Latins moving into Rome. Working with such a simple picture as this one, it is not surprising that status improvement has been seen as the goal of migration: non-Latin allies move to Latin communities to gain the Latin status; Latins (possibly former non-Latin immigrants) move to Rome to become Roman citizens.<sup>44</sup>

The whole picture is based on the assumption that the Roman citizenship had become increasingly attractive to the non-Roman inhabitants of Italy following the Second Punic War. One particular aspect of the citizenship that is often cited as having been the attraction for those who sought to improve their juridical status through migration is the protection from abuses by Roman magistrates.<sup>45</sup> Such protection was a fundamental element of Roman citizenship and was guaranteed through the exercise of *provocatio*, the right of appeal against the actions of a Roman magistrate. The earliest suggestion that the allies sought the protection from abuse that came with *provocatio* is connected with the

---

<sup>43</sup> Livy 32.2.6; 39.3.4-6; 41.8.6-9. For more on the importance of these passages, see below, Chapter 2.

<sup>44</sup> See for example, G. Tibiletti, 'Ricerche di storia agraria romana', *Athenaeum* 38 (n.s. 28) (1950) p. 204; C. Castello, 'Il cosiddetto *ius migrandi* dei Latini a Roma. Ricerche in tema di concessione e accertamento degli *status civitatis et familiae* dal 338 al 95 av.C.', *BIDR* 61-62 (1958) pp. 245-6. Even F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae 1*, pp. 29-69, who goes on to argue that the motivation for immigration to the Latin colony of Fregellae (on which see below, Chapter 3) was linked to the colony's economic centrality in the region of southern Latium, is guilty of beginning from an oversimplified picture based on juridical status: immigration to Fregellae 'fa parte di un diffuso fenomeno di migrazione dalle colonie latine verso Roma e dal resto dell'Italia verso le colonie' (p. 35).

<sup>45</sup> See for example, M.P. Guidobaldi, 'La *colonia civium romanorum* di Minturnae', *DdArch* 3<sup>rd</sup>



proposal of M. Fulvius Flaccus to extend the franchise in 125 BC. According to Valerius Maximus, Flaccus offered the right of appeal against Roman magistrates, the *ius provocationis*, as an alternative to those allies who did not want the citizenship.<sup>46</sup> The obvious implication is that the main interest of the allies in Roman status was the personal security that came with it.

Most scholars now, however, would challenge the simplicity of the pattern of migration derived from Livy, and so also the supposedly strong connection between migration and juridical status. One of the dangers of a model based on the few relevant passages of Livy is its susceptibility to influence by Livy's Augustan age perception of Republican history. So in this case, the view of migration as motivated by the desire for the acquisition of greater juridical status reflects an anachronistic overvaluation of the Roman citizenship that appears in several places in Livy's surviving narrative of the middle Republic.<sup>47</sup> This overvaluation comes out particularly clearly, for example, in the passages that deal with the settlement of the Latins at the beginning of the period.<sup>48</sup> According to Livy, Rome granted to the Campani, Fundani and Formiani the status of *civitas sine suffragio* as a reward for services rendered to Rome during the years of war preceding the settlement.<sup>49</sup> Humbert has argued convincingly that these supposed grants by Rome were not rewards but were instead unilateral acts of aggressive incorporation by the Roman state.<sup>50</sup> This view explains the otherwise confusing treatment of the Hernici in 306.<sup>51</sup> On that occasion, most of the Hernici, led by the people of Anagnia, had made war against the Romans and had been defeated; while three Hernican communities (Aletrium, Ferentinum and Verulae) had abstained from the hostilities. The punishment for the hostile Hernici was the imposition of *civitas sine suffragio*.

---

ser., 6.2 (1988) p. 132.

<sup>46</sup> Val. Max. 9.5.1. D. Stockton, *The Gracchi* (Oxford 1979) p. 186, believes the fact that Appian BC, 1.21.86-7, does not mention the *ius provocationis* as part of Flaccus' proposal is not sufficient reason to doubt Valerius Maximus.

<sup>47</sup> H. Mouritsen, *Italian Unification. A Study in Ancient and Modern Historiography*. BICS Suppl. 70 (London 1998) pp. 5f.

<sup>48</sup> See especially M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio. L'organisation de la conquête jusqu'à la guerre sociale* (Rome 1978) pp. 192 & 196; see also the excellent account of the settlement of 338 BC by S.P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy Books VI-X, II* (Oxford 1998) pp. 538-59, esp. pp. 544-52.

<sup>49</sup> Livy 8.14.10; the Campani are rewarded *equitum honoris causa, quia cum Latinis rebellare nolissent*, and the Fundani and Formiani *quod per fines eorum tuta pacataque semper fuisset via*.

<sup>50</sup> M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio* (above n. 48) pp. 205-7.



To the three peaceful communities, Rome offered the Roman citizenship; but the loyal Hernici refused the offer to become Roman, preferring instead to retain their own local citizenship.<sup>52</sup> Almost a century later, in 216, Livy again records the refusal of an offer of Roman citizenship, this time by a group of soldiers from Praeneste.<sup>53</sup>

There are also problems with the idea that non-Romans sought Roman status for the benefit of having the right of appeal, the *ius provocationis*. The evidence for abuses by Roman magistrates against individual non-Romans is thin and comes only from the later decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. It is true that Flaccus' offer of *provocatio* to the allies in 125 implies that such abuses were taking place at that time and that the allies were interested in relief; but Flaccus' proposal is more than half a century later than the large-scale migration recorded by Livy in the passages for 199, 187, and 177 BC. Furthermore, the only evidence for the sorts of abuses that might have led Flaccus to propose such an offer comes from the fragments of a speech of Caius Gracchus dating to 123.<sup>54</sup> The abuses Gracchus presents to his audience are certainly harsh – a magistrate of Teanum publicly scourged by a consul because the local baths were not clean enough for the consul's wife; a cowherd ordered beaten to death for joking that a party carrying a Roman official in his litter resembled a funeral party carrying a corpse<sup>55</sup> – but there is no evidence to suggest that such abuses as these were characteristic of life for the allies in Italy two generations before the tribunate of Caius Gracchus, when the passages recording large-scale migration begin to appear in Livy's account.

Change of citizenship and legal status was frequently a result of internal migration, but cannot be said to have been a principal motivating factor. It is true that the migration of large numbers of people between communities of different status would have greatly affected the legal-political system set up by the Romans in Italy.<sup>56</sup> It is also true that internal migration became a political

---

<sup>51</sup> Livy 9.43.22-24.

<sup>52</sup> Livy 9.43.23: *Hernicorum tribus populis, Aletrinati Verulano Ferentinati, quia maluerunt quam civitatem, suae leges redditae.*

<sup>53</sup> Livy 23.20.2.

<sup>54</sup> ORF<sup>3</sup>, pp. 190-2; see also D. Stockton, *The Gracchi* (above n. 46), pp. 221-2, for the dating of the so-called *de legibus promulgatis*.

<sup>55</sup> ORF<sup>3</sup>, pp. 191-2.

<sup>56</sup> The effects of internal migration on Rome's system of control in Italy will be examined more closely in Chapter 7.

issue when the supply of troops to Rome's army was threatened by the depopulation of many of her subject communities. It is not true, however, that internal migration began as a political phenomenon, motivated by the desire of migrants to improve their legal status. That *some* migrants in this period changed their place of residence with an eye towards eventually gaining the Roman citizenship is of course a distinct probability; but concentration on this minority serves little purpose in an effort to understand the more fundamental nature of the phenomenon. If this latter is to be achieved, the motivating factors behind internal migration must be sought not in the juridical sphere, but in the context of the economic changes that transformed the Italian peninsula in this period and brought to light new economic opportunities and new sources of livelihood.

Moving away from the juridical and Romano-centric accounts of the period, a different group of works that have attempted in some way or other to take account of internal migration in Republican Italy are those that have had as their aim the explanation of some other not specifically institutional development of the period, in which migration is thought to have played a role. Works of this kind have tended to dedicate only very brief or else very general remarks to the role of migration. Most of these, however, have (some more reluctantly than others) acknowledged the large scale and significance of the phenomenon. Tibiletti, for example, in his work on the agrarian history of Roman Italy, makes a point of emphasizing the scale of the phenomenon, though his main interest here is in using the high level of immigration to Roman territory in central Italy as evidence that the density of population there was actually rather low in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>57</sup> More recently, Gabba has also emphasized the importance of internal migration as a feature of developments in Italy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. In one of his more general accounts of the period, Gabba pays a considerable amount of attention to all kinds of changes in the distribution of the Italian population, among which internal migration is one; though beyond identifying port cities as typical centres of immigration, he offers little in the way of further detail.<sup>58</sup> Elsewhere, the same author has pointed to spontaneous individual

---

<sup>57</sup> G. Tibiletti, 'Ricerche di storia agraria romana', (above n. 44) pp. 183-266, esp. p. 204: 'Di questi movimenti noi non abbiamo naturalmente statistiche nè informazioni sistematiche, bensì unicamente notizie occasionali, tuttavia possiamo inferire che essi furono cosa grandiosa.'

<sup>58</sup> E. Gabba, 'Rome and Italy in the second century B.C.', in *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, VIII (1989) pp. 217ff. Obviously, the introductory nature of the collection in which the piece appears goes some way



migration as an important element in the economic development of the Po Valley in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, a theme to which we will return in Chapter 4.<sup>59</sup> In similar fashion, Jean-Michel David's recent book on Italy in the middle and late Republican periods offers a short section on movements and changes in population in the context of the transformation of the Italian economy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, but only scratches the surface of the kind of independent mobility that is our focus here.<sup>60</sup>

Coming from an altogether different angle, Brunt's influential *Italian Manpower* has much to say on population mobility where relevant to his central interest in the interpretation of the Roman census figures and the size of the Italian population.<sup>61</sup> His general views on independent mobility, however, come as part of his treatment of overseas migration from Italy, which he believes not to have been on a very large scale.<sup>62</sup> As for migration within Italy (my geographical definition, not Brunt's – his excludes the Po Valley), Brunt considers the subject most fully in his account of the population of the Po Valley. We will return in greater detail to that account in Chapter 4. For now, it is worth noting two points. First is the methodological point that it is Brunt's reliance on literary evidence to the exclusion of archaeological material that leads him to a minimizing view of the economy of the Po Valley and thence to a minimizing view of the scale of immigration to the region. The second is that it is in his treatment of the population history of the Po Valley that Brunt's argument in favour of the basic acceptability of Beloch's interpretation of the Augustan census figures is at its most circular. He argues there that the elevated census figure from 28 BC is not to be explained by (among other things) the enfranchisement of a large population in the Po Valley, because the population of the Po Valley remained relatively small throughout the Republican period, a conclusion which, given that the direct evidence is inconclusive, Brunt favours on the basis of its being more consistent with his interpretation of the elevated

---

towards explaining the absence of more detailed remarks on the subject.

<sup>59</sup> E. Gabba, 'La conquista della Gallia Cisalpina', in *Storia di Roma*, 2.1 (Turin 1990) pp. 69-77. See also G. Bandelli, 'La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale', in *Demografia*, pp. 189-215.

<sup>60</sup> J.-M. David, *The Roman Conquest of Italy* (Eng. trans. by A. Nevill, Oxford 1996) pp. 80-8.

<sup>61</sup> P. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14* (Oxford 1971).

<sup>62</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, esp. pp. 159-65.

census figure of 28 BC.<sup>63</sup>

A handful of other works have included slightly more substantial treatments of migration as part of attempts to understand the wider context of structural changes in the last centuries of the Republic. Two such works that have had considerable influence on much that has been produced in the last generation are Toynbee's *Hannibal's Legacy* and Hopkins' *Conquerors and Slaves*. Both recognize internal migration as a contributing factor in the transformation of the economy of Italy over the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC as a result of the expansion of Rome's territorial empire. In Toynbee's picture, one of the immediate consequences of Hannibal's presence in Italy was the driving of rural populations into cities, above all into Rome. Once in the cities, these new arrivals supplied the labour necessary to support the growing war industries in their effort to clothe and equip the Roman army. When the war in Italy came to an end, these industries (still centred on Rome) switched over from supplying the army with equipment to supplying equipment for the newly intensified plantation economy that was just then beginning to take off, especially on the Tyrrhenian coastal plains between southern Etruria and Campania. As the main customer for the urban industries came to be less the Roman army and more the large estates, so some of the smaller towns in central Italy closer to the main areas of intensified agricultural activity were better able to compete with Rome and developed their own centres of industry. The result was a process of urbanization along most of the Tyrrhenian lowlands in the post-Hannibalic War period.

The basic model developed by Hopkins is similar in some respects to that of Toynbee, but places the emphasis differently in its treatment of internal migration.<sup>64</sup> For Hopkins, it was not the presence of Hannibal and the growth of industry that drove or attracted rural population into urban centres. Free peasants were pushed out of the countryside as a result of the purchasing of land and the formation of large estates by the wealthy, and of the preference of these wealthy land-owners for slaves over free workers. The displaced rural population was then attracted to the towns of Italy (especially Rome) by the possibility of

---

<sup>63</sup> The circularity of argument is criticized by E. Lo Cascio, 'La dinamica della popolazione in Italia da Augusto al III secolo', in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Rome 1994) pp. 91-125, at p. 108.



benefitting from the expenditure of the profits of empire by the wealthy in those towns. The growth of the towns led to the creation of a market for agricultural production, providing further demand for the products of the large estates of the wealthy.

For our purposes, the strength of the pictures developed by Toynbee and Hopkins is their acknowledgement that internal migration played a significant role in the transformation of the Italian economy that came as a consequence of the growth of the Roman empire. The weakness is their reduction of all internal migration to a generic process of ‘urbanization’. Beyond noting that Rome was the major magnet for immigrants – Toynbee notes immigration to Puteoli and Fregellae also (two other examples that appear in the literary evidence) – neither author attempts to provide any further details. For both, the importance is simply that many people who had been living and working on farms in the Italian countryside were in this period living in urban centres and that these people must then have played a different role in the economy of the peninsula. The danger of the reduction of internal migration to a process of urbanization is one of oversimplification. It is not the case that all migration in this period was from the territory of a community to the urban centre of the same community. Individuals were moving across community boundaries as well, and so affecting not just the demographic balance between country and city, but also the balance of the distribution of population across Italy.<sup>65</sup>

In the following chapters, I will be concentrating on this change in the distribution of population between the different communities of Italy in the Republican period, with the basic aim of providing a fuller picture of a phenomenon whose potential significance most scholars of the period have acknowledged, but whose details and wider implications on the level of the community have as of yet received little scholarly attention. In the first part of

---

<sup>64</sup> K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (above n. 21) pp. 1-98.

<sup>65</sup> K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (above n. 21) pp. 68-9. Hopkins guesses 100,000 adult males for the scale of rural to urban migration between 225 and 28 BC. His figure is of limited use in the case of internal migration as we have defined it. First, it includes moves from the territory of a community into the urban centre of that same community, which our definition of internal migration does not include. Second, it excludes moves from one urban centre to another urban centre or from the rural part of one community to the rural part of another, both of which our definition of internal migration does include.

what follows, after assessing in Chapter 2 the problems of the evidence, we will look closely at the various patterns of migration that can be revealed in the cases of two areas of the peninsula: southern Latium (Chapter 3) and the Po Valley (Chapter 4). In the second part, we will look at the political and social implications of the phenomenon, looking first at the problem of the so-called *ius migrandi* (Chapter 6) and then at what emerges as a crisis of migration in (at least) the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and how that crisis affected the relationship between the communities of Italy and Rome in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (Chapter 7).

**PAGE  
MISSING  
IN  
ORIGINAL**



## Chapter 2

### Finding patterns of migration: sources and approaches

Studies of migration patterns in modern periods benefit from a range of possible sources of data. Some countries, Sweden and Japan for example, maintain continuously updated population registers that in theory provide a record of all migrations as well as some socio-economic information about the migrants themselves. In countries that do not maintain such a register, the ‘snapshot’ data of national census returns can usually be put to use in revealing migration, both through the crude calculation of figures for net migration (which often obscure a much higher level of real migration) and through direct questions on the census about place of birth and former places of residence. Most countries also have certain partial registers of population, like the National Health Service in Britain, which covers almost the whole population and which records every time an individual changes doctor, along with the associated change of address. In addition to these official sources, there are numerous examples of regular social surveys that can provide useful data on migration, like the Current Population Survey conducted at regular intervals by the US Bureau of Census.

Obviously, the data available from the ancient world does not even come close to providing as much useful information as is available to studies of modern periods. Before deciding what we can hope to reveal about the phenomenon in Republican Italy, therefore, we must assess the usefulness of that evidence that we do have at our disposal.

#### *The literary evidence*

At first sight, the existing literary references to internal migration are not particularly promising – without doubt one of the reasons for its neglect by most modern accounts (see above). Because, as we have seen, internal migration was not part of any state-organized programme, the literary sources at our disposal

record very few details relating to it. There are no decrees of the senate, no triumvirs, and no numbers of enlisted colonists to be recorded in this case. Nevertheless, the series of references that do exist, above all in Livy's narrative of the period between 218 and 167 BC, if taken for all they are worth, do reveal at least the shadow of a phenomenon of major importance, and so constitute a fitting point from which to begin.

As will become clear, the majority of Livy's references to internal migration come in the context of embassies from Italian communities appearing before the senate. Two early references, however, record population movement as a reaction to the events and associated developments of the Hannibalic War and represent a different kind of historical observation. Both examples refer to immigration to fortified *emporia*, whose attraction during the war would for some immigrants have been economic and for others strategic. The first case is that of the otherwise little known site of Victumulae in the Po Valley:<sup>1</sup>

This had been an emporium for the Romans during the Gallic War; and once fortified, various neighbours from all the adjoining peoples had begun to crowd into the place; and later, fear of plundering had driven large numbers from the fields into the garrison.

The second relates to the early life of the much better known and later very important port city of Puteoli:<sup>2</sup>

At the end of that year (215) Q. Fabius by the authority of the senate fortified and garrisoned Puteoli, an emporium that had begun to be crowded during the war.

The existence of *emporia* sites like Victumulae and Puteoli as supply-centres in times of heavy military activity, as well as the attraction of immigrants to them and the possibility of their continued importance, long after the end of the period of military activity that contributed to their original growth, is probably a more

---

<sup>1</sup> Livy 21.57.10 (218-7 BC): *Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat.*

<sup>2</sup> Livy 24.7.10 (215 BC): *Exitu anni eius Q. Fabius ex auctoritate senatus Puteolos, per bellum coeptum frequentari emporium, communiit praesidiumque imposuit.*

common feature of the development of Italy in this period than the restricted number of explicit cases might lead us to believe.

Before moving on to the further cases of internal migration recorded by Livy, we should note a well-known episode that is sometimes connected with the phenomenon, though the link is not explicit in Livy's record. In 209 BC, in the middle of the Hannibalic War, delegates from twelve of Rome's Latin colonies announced to the Roman consuls that their communities were completely exhausted of men and money and so would no longer be able to provide either resource for the continuing war effort against Hannibal.<sup>3</sup> The remaining eighteen Latin colonies in existence at the time reassured the Roman senate that the supply of manpower and money from them would continue uninterrupted.<sup>4</sup> The potential connection to internal migration comes from the geographical distribution of the colonies in question. All twelve of the defaulting colonies are relatively close to the city of Rome. The other eighteen, with only three exceptions, are all further away from Rome. The relative proximity of the twelve defaulting colonies to Rome, whose attraction for immigrants was to become clear in the following decades, has led some to suggest that the exhaustion of their manpower was due to emigration to Rome.<sup>5</sup> While such a scenario is certainly a possibility, the suggestion must remain for the time being within the realm of speculation.

A number of decidedly more certain cases of individual migration on a significant scale turn up in Livy's account of the following decades. The first relates to an episode of 206 BC. In that year, delegates from the Latin colonies of Placentia and Cremona appeared in Rome complaining of an emigration problem:<sup>6</sup>

Embassies from the people of Placentia and Cremona had brought the matter up, as they were complaining that their territory was being attacked

---

<sup>3</sup> Livy 27.9.7-14.

<sup>4</sup> Livy 27.10.1-10.

<sup>5</sup> See particularly E.T. Salmon, 'Roman expansion and Roman colonization in Italy', *Phoenix* 9 (1955) pp. 63-75, at p. 71.

<sup>6</sup> Livy 28.11.10-11: *Moverant autem huiusce rei mentionem Placentinorum et Cremonensium legati, querentes agrum suum ab accolis Gallis incursari ac vastari, magnamque partem colonorum suorum dilapsam esse, et iam infrequentis se urbes, agrum vastum ac desertum habere. Mamilio praetori mandatum ut colonias ab hoste tueretur; consules ex senatus consulto edixerunt ut qui cives Cremonenses atque Placentini essent ante certam diem in colonias reverterentur.*



and laid waste by the neighbouring Gauls and that a large part of their colonists had moved away and that now they had thinly-populated cities and desolated and deserted territory. Orders were accordingly given to the praetor Mamilius to protect these two settlements, and the consuls on the senate's authority issued an edict to the effect that all citizens of Cremona and Placentia were to return to their homes before a certain date.

In the same period, the Latin colony of Narnia, though strategically in a much less exposed position than the colonies in the Po Valley, was also losing population through the emigration of its citizens. In 199 BC, Narnia too sent delegates to the Roman senate:<sup>7</sup>

And when embassies from the people of Narnia complained that their colonists were not up to number and that some outsiders, who had mingled in with them, were behaving as if they were colonists, the consul L. Cornelius was ordered to set up a board of three men to deal with these problems.

Those at Narnia who were considered to be 'outsiders' (*non sui generis*) in 199 were probably Italian immigrants from the neighbouring communities, such as nearby Tuder and Ameria in Umbria, and Ferentis in Etruria.<sup>8</sup> The result of the complaint by the people of Narnia was the sending out of a *supplementum* of settlers to the colony. We will return below to the significance of colonial *supplementa* to the study of internal migration.

A very different response was implemented by the Roman state in what is one of the better known episodes directly related to internal migration, namely the large-scale expulsion of immigrants from Rome in 187 BC. On that occasion, not just one or a pair of colonies, but all of the Latin colonies together sent embassies to Rome to complain of emigration from their communities:<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> Livy 32.2.6: *Et Narniensium legatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse et immixtos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se gerere, earum rerum causa tresviros creare L. Cornelius consul iussus.*

<sup>8</sup> J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy Books XXXI-XXXIII* (Oxford 1973) p. 171.

<sup>9</sup> Livy 39.3.4-6: *Legatis deinde sociorum Latini nominis, qui toto undique ex Latio frequentes convenerant, senatus datus est. His querentibus magnam multitudinem civium suorum Romam commigrasse et ibi censos esse, Q. Terentio Culleoni praetori negotium datum est ut eos conquireret, et quem C. Claudio M. Livio censoribus postve eos censores ipsum parentemve eius apud se censum esse probassent socii, ut redire eo cogeret, ubi censi essent. Hac conquisitione duodecim milia Latinorum domos redierunt, iam tum multitudine alienigenarum urbem onerante.*

Then the Senate granted an audience to embassies from the allies of the Latin name, who had gathered in large numbers from everywhere in all Latium. When these complained that a very great number of their citizens had migrated to Rome and had been registered in the census there, the task was given to the praetor Q. Terentius Culleo of searching these migrants out and of forcing to return to the place where they had been registered any whom, or the father of whom, the allies proved to have been registered in one of their cities in or after the censorship of C. Claudius and M. Livius (204 BC). As a result of this investigation, 12,000 Latins returned home: already then a great number of foreigners was burdening the city.

Large-scale emigration was not restricted to the colonies of Latin status. In these same years, emigration of colonists from two colonies of full citizen status had resulted in their total abandonment, discovered only by chance during the investigations related to the suppression of the Bacchanalia in 186 BC:<sup>10</sup>

. . .the consul Sp. Postumius had reported that on his travels in the prosecution of the investigations on both coasts of Italy he had found colonies abandoned, Sipontum on the upper sea, Buxentum on the lower. . .

The next episode, in 177 BC, is one that will come up in various contexts in the following chapters of the present work. In that year, as had happened ten years earlier in 187, embassies from all the Latin colonies appeared in Rome, this time revealing an even greater sense of agitation and urgency than on the previous occasion:<sup>11</sup>

The Senate was moved also by embassies from the allies of the Latin name, who had wearied both the censors and the previous consuls, and had finally been brought in to the Senate. The point of their complaints was that a very great number of their citizens had migrated to Rome and had been registered at Rome; and if this trend were allowed to continue, within a very few *lustra*, it would be the case that deserted towns and deserted territories would not be able to produce a single soldier.

---

<sup>10</sup> Livy 39.23.3-4: *Extremo anni, quia Sp. Postumius consul renuntiaverat peragrantem se propter quaestiones utrumque litus Italiae desertas colonias Sipontum supero, Buxentum infero mari invenisse, triumviri ad colonos eo scribendos ex senatus consulto ab T. Maenio praetore urbano creati sunt L. Scribonius Libo M. Tuccius Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.*

<sup>11</sup> Livy 41.8.6-7: *Moverunt senatum et legationes socium nominis Latini, quae et censores et priores consules fatigaverunt, tandem in senatum introductae. Summa querellarum erat cives suos Romae censos plerosque Romam commigrasse; quod si permittatur, perpaucis lustris futurum ut deserta oppida, deserti agri nullum militem dare possent.*



In the same passage, Livy records also an additional pattern of movement taking place on a large scale in these years, that of migrants from the non-Latin allied territory of the central Appennines down into the important Latin colony of Fregellae in the middle Liris valley:<sup>12</sup>

Samnites and Paelignians were also complaining that 4,000 families from their territory had gone over to Fregellae, and that neither of them as a result of this furnished any fewer soldiers in the military levy.

Of the Samnite and Paelignian migrants, Livy records no further details. Regarding the Latin immigrants to Rome, however, Livy provides much more information. We are told that many of them had fraudulently evaded and that others had later completely ignored the legal obligation for them to stay in their colonies unless they left a son behind;<sup>13</sup> that the embassies from those colonies requested and were granted new legal measures by the senate with which better to enforce that obligation in the future; and finally that the senate ordered another expulsion of Latin immigrants from Rome, though for this second expulsion, Livy does not record the number of Latins involved.<sup>14</sup> That the expulsion of 177 was not well enforced, however, is suggested by Livy's account of the census of 173, in the course of which the consul for that year had to issue an edict to the effect that those Latins who had been obliged to return to their home towns four years earlier were not to be registered at Rome, implying the continued residence of many of them in Rome.<sup>15</sup>

Another indicator of internal migration that can be gleaned from Livy's narrative (and in one case from the epigraphic record) is his notice of the sending out of fresh settlers to colonies suffering from the depletion of their original colonial populations. In these cases, individually motivated emigration was just one of a few causes of the loss of manpower, but was an important part of the equation nonetheless. The dates of the known *supplementa* (all in the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century) and the colonies in question are the following:

---

<sup>12</sup> Livy 41.8.8: *Fregellas quoque milia quattuor familiarum transisse ab se Samnites Paelignique querebantur, neque eo minus aut hos aut illos in dilectu militum dare.*

<sup>13</sup> This aspect of the phenomenon is examined in depth in chapter 6.

<sup>14</sup> Livy 41.8.9-12, 41.9.9-12.

<sup>15</sup> Livy 42.10.3.

200 BC	Venusia	Livy 31.49.6
199	Narnia	Livy 32.2.6-7
196	Cosa	Livy 33.24.8-9; cf. 32.3.7
190	Placentia	Livy 37.46.9-11
190	Cremona	Livy 37.46.9-11
184	Cales	<i>CIL</i> 6, 1283
169	Aquileia	Livy 43.17.1

In most of these cases, the loss of manpower that brought about the need for a *supplementum* can be linked directly to the difficulties of war. Venusia, for example, was in the heart of one of the regions most heavily terrorized by Hannibal and received its fresh settlers in 200, we are told, ‘because the manpower of that colony had been reduced by the Hannibalic War’.<sup>16</sup> Placentia and Cremona suffered repeatedly from the attacks by their Gallic neighbours in the decades either side of 200 BC. Aquileia too was particularly vulnerable in its first decade of existence: its delegates at Rome in 171 complained ‘that their colony was new and weak and not yet sufficiently fortified for a place situated among the hostile Histrian and Illyrian peoples’.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, however, we have already seen that in the case of the colony of Narnia in Umbria – and the same must go for the colony at Cosa – there is no obvious link between their loss of population and any hostilities directly affecting the colony itself. Furthermore, the delegates from the colonies of Placentia and Cremona who appeared before the senate at Rome in 190 complained that they had lost men not only as a result of war (the Roman re-conquest of the Po Valley) and disease, but also as a result of the emigration of many colonists who had simply grown weary of the neighbouring Gauls.<sup>18</sup> For this reason, we can safely take the record of colonial *supplementa* as another indicator of, among other things, emigration from the colonies in question.

From these passages of Livy, taken all together as they have been listed above, several simple points can be made, some substantive and some

---

<sup>16</sup> Livy 31.49.6: *quod bello Hannibalis attenuatae vires eius coloniae erant.*

<sup>17</sup> Livy 43.1.5: *coloniam suam novam et infirmam necdum satis munitam inter infestas nationes Histrorum et Illyriorum esse.*

<sup>18</sup> Livy 37.46.10: *Iis querentibus inopiam colonorum, aliis belli casibus aliis morbo absumptis, quosdam taedio accolarum Gallorum reliquisse colonias. . .*



methodological, that suggest the phenomenon of internal migration in Italy during this period was one of considerable significance.

Livy does not record many figures; but those that he does report are on a large scale. The expulsion of immigrants from Rome in 187, we are told, affected some 12,000 Latins who were proven to have taken up residence in the city within the sixteen years that had passed since the census of 204. The cut-off point set at 204 for liability to expulsion leaves open, and likely, the possibility that there were many more immigrants resident in the city by 187 who were not subject to the expulsion of that year. Just ten years later, in 177, the senate was again asked to order Latin migrants to leave Rome and return to their homes. Livy does not provide us with an exact figure this time, but does record the Latin delegates' complaint that 'a very great number' (*plerique*) of their citizens were again living at Rome.<sup>19</sup> Livy's account of the migration problems of 177 BC is more precise when it comes to the case of Samnites and Paelignians who had migrated to the Latin colony of Fregellae: the Samnite and Paelignian delegates claim to have lost 4,000 families in this way. At a conservative estimate of three to four persons per family, this figure represents the migration of some 12-16,000 people.<sup>20</sup> Even within the limited scope of the first decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century then, and in the cases here of just two particular patterns of movement (immigration to Rome and immigration to Fregellae) the figures transmitted by Livy record the migration of several tens of thousands of individuals on their own initiative.

Figures, however, are not the only indicator of scale and significance. The fact that most of the references we have just looked at record embassies from communities for whom the level of emigration was high enough to cause serious concern is also an indication of significance. When the people of Narnia complained that their colonists were not *ad numerum*, they are not likely to have been complaining about isolated cases of emigration of an insignificant number of families. There was also a certain sense of urgency about the Latin embassies in Rome in 187 and 177. Those that appeared before the senate in 187 had come

---

<sup>19</sup> Livy 41.8.7.

<sup>20</sup> F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', in *La Romanisation du Samnium aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> siècles av. J.-C. Actes du colloque international. (Naples 1988)*. Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Naples: Deuxième Série 9 (1991) p. 180.

‘in great numbers from everywhere in all of Latium’.<sup>21</sup> Those in 177 were finally given an audience by the Senate only after they had ‘wearied both the censors and the previous consuls’.<sup>22</sup> To those left behind in the affected Latin and Italian communities, and especially to the local élites represented by the delegates at Rome, the patterns of emigration recorded in these passages of Livy were clearly significant enough, at least, to pose a considerable threat.

This point is closely linked to the first of two methodological points that must be made with regard to the Livian information on internal migration. The type of population movement we are concerned with here was not a mass movement at a single moment in time, like the state-organized movements responsible for settling 6,000 men in a Latin colony, or deporting thousands of Ligurians. It was, on the contrary, much more likely to have been a modest, but continuous flow of individuals whose collective demographic weight would have made itself felt (particularly in the communities *from* which these individuals had moved) only after an extended period of movement in the same direction had resulted in the accumulation of the numbers involved. In other words, internal migration was a phenomenon that was not likely to have attracted much attention in its own right, and so appears in Livy’s account only when its cumulative weight was enough to attract the attention of interested officials. It is no surprise, then, that several of the passages that record problems caused by internal migration are closely associated with census years.<sup>23</sup> More importantly for the moment, the occasions on which internal migration appears in Livy’s record are all occasions on which the phenomenon impinged directly on the interests of the Roman state, because it was affecting a Roman garrison or a Roman colony or one or many Latin colonies, and so was brought to the attention of the Roman senate. Furthermore, most of the cases we have looked at were brought to the attention of the senate by official embassies from suffering Latin colonies. This pattern is a reflection of the (probably) documentary sources available to Livy, or

---

<sup>21</sup> Livy 39.3.4: *qui toto undique ex Latio frequentes convenerant*.

<sup>22</sup> Livy 41.8.6: *quae et censores et priores consules fatigaverant*.

<sup>23</sup> The (possible) emigration problem reported by the twelve Latin colonies in 209 (census of 209/8); the complaint of Narnia in 199 (census of 199/8); the complaint of all the Latin colonies in 187 (census of 189/8); the second complaint of all the Latin colonies in 177 (census of 179/8); and the continued presence of illegal immigrants at Rome in 173 (census of 174/3). See also E. Frézouls, ‘Rome et les Latins dans les premières décennies du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.’, *Ktema* 6 (1981) pp. 118.



at least to his own annalistic sources. The point is that patterns of internal migration which did not affect Rome directly and which did not involve the official activity of the Roman senate are not likely to have found their way into Livy's history, but are not for that reason any less likely to have occurred.

A second point of methodology that has often been neglected relates to what could be called 'the chronology of internal migration'. The references in Livy that are relevant to migration all relate to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. As every historian of this period must have in mind at all times, the text of Livy does not survive for the three quarters of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century between 293 and 218 BC and thereafter continues only through 168 BC before disappearing altogether. Yet despite the obvious gaps resulting from this unfortunate pattern of textual survival, some scholars have argued that the phenomenon of migration on a significant scale begins only with the Hannibalic War, and most have neglected the possibility of its continuing significance after the first decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>24</sup> The weakness of placing the appearance or disappearance of any historical phenomenon for which Livy is used as the main evidence at exactly those points where the surviving text of Livy itself appears and disappears is great. As we shall see, several factors external to Livy's narrative suggest that, if anything, levels of internal migration in Italy were the same or higher in the periods for which we do not have the regular references of Livy.

Beyond Livy, the literary evidence at our disposal is particularly thin on the subject of internal migration. Geographical descriptions of Italy offer some vague clues. Strabo, for example, in describing the peoples and towns of Italy sometimes reveals a chronological development that might have been the result of immigration or emigration. His chronological indicators are, however, unfortunately imprecise, usually consisting of no more than a remark that a place was 'once/then' one size, but is 'now' another. It is usually, therefore,

---

<sup>24</sup> For its supposed beginning with the Hannibalic War, see e.g. Toynbee, *HL*, II, p. 137: 'The widespread post-Hannibalic movement in the allied states to migrate was a new phenomenon'; or A. Bernardi, *Nomen Latinum* (Pavia 1973) p. 79, where he claims confidently: 'Solo con la guerra annibalica la tradizione incomincia a registrare notizie relative a immigrazioni, nella capitale, di coloni latini. . .,' before introducing a series of references from Livy. For a more cautious approach to the question of what happened after Livy's text breaks off, see P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 72, n.1: 'we cannot be sure that Latins did not lose citizens to Rome in the period after 168, for which Livy's detailed narrative is lost.'

impossible to determine with any precision the chronology of the development to which Strabo is referring. When he says, for example, that a city was once great, but is now just a village, he is referring to a development that could have taken place gradually, rapidly, or instantly (as a result of some particular event or disaster), at any point between, on the one hand, the distant legendary past of the exploits of the Homeric heroes after the Trojan War and, on the other, his own day (the age of Augustus). Furthermore, Strabo gives little indication of the scale of the growth or decline he is noting in these cases, since he uses rather vague terms to describe the size of towns.<sup>25</sup> A small town is described either as a ‘village’ (κώμη), or quite simply as a ‘small town’ (πολίχνιον or πολισμάτιον), while a larger settlement is described as a ‘large town’ (μεγάλη πόλις) or is ‘noteworthy’ (ἄξιόλογος) or ‘of high repute’ (ἔνδοξος). Nevertheless, Strabo’s notice of communities that have exploded or, more commonly, shrunk in size is a useful reminder of the potential changeability of the distribution of the Italian population (Tables 1 and 2, p. 52).

Pliny’s *Natural History* provides us with information that is, if anything, chronologically even less precise than that provided by Strabo. In his account of the Augustan regions of Italy, Pliny records a number of towns and peoples that had disappeared by his time, but in most cases does so in the simplest way possible, noting merely that a certain town ‘used to exist’ (*fuit*) or that a certain group of towns or peoples ‘have disappeared’ (*interiere*). The list of communities that fall into this category is, nevertheless, not insignificant (Table 3, p. 53).

### *The epigraphical record*

Epigraphical evidence can also sometimes provide a useful record of migration. Most useful are the examples (unfortunately rare in the Republican corpus) of individuals who chose to include a geographically indicative *cognomen* along with their name on the inscription in question. There is, for example, an inscription from Praeneste that records the presence in that city of one Lucius Gemenius, probably from Peltuinum. The head of the inscription

---

<sup>25</sup> Vagueness is typical of the rare observations of population sizes by the ancient authors; cf. P.



reads: *L. Gemenio(s) L. f. Pelt(---)*.<sup>26</sup> Another example comes from further afield, where there is the remarkable case of individual mobility represented by an inscription of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> century BC from the necropolis of Dyrrhachium on the Illyrian coast of the Adriatic.<sup>27</sup> In this case, one Γάιος Καίσιος Ἀνκωνεῖτος is recorded. His name reveals him to have moved probably twice in his lifetime: first from some Latin-speaking community into the Syracusan colony of Ancona, where he apparently became a citizen, and then across the Adriatic to Dyrrhachium where he died.

In addition to these more clear examples of indicative inscriptions, there are two other types of epigraphical material from Roman Italy that can be useful. The first consists of what one could call generic records of immigration. For example, at the Latin colony of Aesernia, an inscription on the base for a votive statue to Venus reads: *Samnites inquolae V(eneri) d(ono) d(ederunt)*.<sup>28</sup> The Samnites here referring to themselves as *inquolae* have been identified as recent immigrants from the communities surrounding Aesernia.<sup>29</sup> Another such example comes from Sena Gallica, where a similar dedication records the presence of *incolae opificesque*<sup>30</sup> (this latter example interesting also for the association of the immigrants with craftsmen).

The second type of useful epigraphical evidence consists of the more specific examples where the preservation of particular names or types of names makes possible the kind of onomastic studies that can provide clues to patterns of migration through the mapping of the diffusion of those names. The large corpus of inscriptions from Roman Italy preserves an extensive number of *gentilicia*. In certain instances, it is possible to trace the movements of members of a particular *gens* by looking at the different places in which its *nomen* appears in

---

Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford 2000) pp. 378-9.

<sup>26</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 62 (= *ILLRP* 132), where the reading *Pelt[(uino) d(omo)]* is offered for the missing part of the text. See also F. Coarelli, 'Viabilità e mercati nel Lazio', *Utopia* 4.2 (1995, publ. 1997) p. 204, n. 29, who links his presence at Praeneste with a transhumance link between that city and the territory of Peltuinum.

<sup>27</sup> See P. Cabanes, *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire. Études épigraphique 2.1.1: Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion* (Athens 1995) p. 73, n. 20.

<sup>28</sup> A. La Regina, 'Contributo dell'archeologia alla storia sociale: Territori sabellici e sannitici', *DdArch.* 2-3 (1970-71) pp. 452-3 (= *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 3201).

<sup>29</sup> H. Galsterer, *Herrschaft und Verwaltung im republikanischen Italien* (Munich 1976) p. 54; F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', (above n. 20) pp. 178-9; contra La Regina, who interprets the inscription as a record of the original Samnite element in Aesernia at the time of the colonial foundation.

<sup>30</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 2125; *ILLRP*, 776.

the epigraphic record; but this kind of study is not unproblematic. For such an exercise to be of any use, it must also be possible to determine, at least with some precision, the geographical origin of the *gens* in question. Most names, however, are too commonly attested to yield any specific information; and in the vast majority of cases, a wide diffusion of attestations throughout Italy makes it impossible to determine the origin of a particular *gens*. There is also a need for fairly precise dating of the inscriptions; often not a real possibility. The relatively small number of inscriptions surviving from the Republican period, as compared to the first two centuries of the Empire, further compounds the problem. Thus the limitations on the usefulness of epigraphy for a study of migration can be great.

There are, nonetheless, several instances when the epigraphic material meets the requirements for usefulness and reveals valuable details. The wealth of Republican inscriptions from Praeneste, for example, allows for the fairly secure identification of several *gentes* whose origins must have been in that community. The appearance of these Praenestine *nomina* in other communities of Italy is therefore instructive. By investigating the evidence from the Latin colony of Aquileia, another community that has produced a large number of Republican inscriptions, Strazzulla has identified branches of three securely Praenestine *gentes* who migrated to the colony in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> Members of the *gens Dindia* appear in eleven Republican inscriptions from Praeneste<sup>32</sup> and in two at Aquileia.<sup>33</sup> The *gens Samiaria* appears thirteen times in Republican Praeneste<sup>34</sup> and seven times at Aquileia.<sup>35</sup> And the *gens Tampia* appears ten times at Praeneste<sup>36</sup> and once on a votive column at Aquileia.<sup>37</sup> In addition to these cases of Republican migration, there are several other *gentes* whose origin is securely Praenestine. For example, the *gens Saufeia* appears at least twenty-

---

<sup>31</sup> M.J. Strazzulla Rusconi, 'Onocles Dindi Tiberi servus. Note su alcune presenze prenestine ad Aquileia in età repubblicana', *Arch. Class.* 34 (1982) pp. 98-138. She examined at least 150 Republican inscriptions in the storerooms and in the museum of Aquileia; a number that far exceeds that of the inscriptions published in *CIL I*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> *CIL I*<sup>2</sup>, 145-148, 561, 1447, 1449, 1477, 2460, 2532, and *AE* (1968) 111.

<sup>33</sup> M.J. Strazzulla Rusconi, 'Onocles Dindi Tiberi servus', (above n. 31) pp. 100-13. See also J. Šašel, 'I Dindii. Vicende ed economia di una famiglia di Praeneste', *ZPE* 43 (1981) pp. 337-42.

<sup>34</sup> *CIL I*<sup>2</sup>, 264-271, 348, 1475; *Not. Scavi* (1905) p.123; and two unpublished inscriptions seen by M.J. Strazzulla Rusconi, 'Onocles Dindi Tiberi servus', (above n. 31) p. 134.

<sup>35</sup> *CIL V*, 1046 and six times in one other inscription; see M.J. Strazzulla Rusconi, 'Onocles Dindi Tiberi servus', (above n. 31) pp. 114-18.

<sup>36</sup> *CIL I*<sup>2</sup>, 303-311, 1458.



five times in the Republican epigraphical material from Praeneste.<sup>38</sup> The appearance of the *gens Saufeia* in other communities of Italy is likely then to constitute evidence of the migration of members of the *gens*. Within the corpus of Republican inscriptions, the *gens Saufeia* appears five times at Minturnae and once on Delos.<sup>39</sup> By the early Empire, *Saufeii* are attested with some regularity also at Aquileia and neighbouring communities.<sup>40</sup> Though they are attested only in the early Imperial period here, it is possible that the migration of *Saufeii* from Praeneste to eastern Cisalpine Gaul was part of the same movement that brought the *Dindii*, *Samiarii* and *Tampii* to Aquileia.

The greatest advantage of the method of tracing the migration of *gentes* through the appearance of their names in inscriptions is that it allows for the relatively precise identification of some of those individuals involved in the phenomenon, individuals who remain largely anonymous in the literary and archaeological record.

### *The archaeological record*

No historical study that wants to be taken seriously these days would attempt to provide an account of any major phenomenon in the development of Roman Italy without incorporating as much as possible of the ever increasing body of available archaeological evidence. In the case of a study of internal migration, it would be impossible to say much at all without looking to the material remains for clues. When it comes to the interpretation of the archaeological evidence in relation to migration, it is naturally important to have some idea of what we can say actually constitutes evidence of population movement. If we begin with the fairly safe assumption that *natural* population growth occurred in antiquity at an imperceptably slow rate, then where we have archaeological evidence of relatively *rapid* growth or decline in a particular community, we can be fairly sure that immigration or emigration was at least partially responsible. Obviously, the number of sites that have produced enough

---

<sup>37</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 2171.

<sup>38</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 119, 260, 279-290, 1461, 1467-1471, 2439, 2860-1, 3044, and 3052.

<sup>39</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 1570, 2699 and 2705 (Minturnae); 2236 (Delos).

<sup>40</sup> See for example, four *Saufeii* in Padua (*CIL* V, 2838, 2854, 2998, 3030) and three in Aquileia (*CIL* V, 867, 1367, 1368).

information to enable us to have a reasonably clear picture of their development is relatively small; while for those sites where substantial remains have been uncovered, there is always the potential problem of misinterpreting an increase in prosperity and ostentatious display of wealth as an increase in the size of the population – two things that are not always connected. The one fairly clear example of Minturnae, which we will look at more closely in the next chapter, hopefully will serve to illustrate the possibilities here.

The archaeological remains of the site of the Roman colony at Minturnae seem to have revealed a period of rapid growth in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The remains of the urban plan dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century reveal a modest circuit of polygonal walls measuring 180 x 155 meters, identified as the typically small *castrum* of a Roman maritime colony: it closely resembles the original wall circuits at the Roman colonies of Ostia and Pyrgi. Other than this circuit, the only remains from the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century consist of a modest temple podium and a small row of what have been interpreted as shops, all of which is consistent with the foundation of a typical maritime colonial foundation, of probably 300 families, here in 296 BC.

The archaeological picture of Minturnae in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, on the other hand, is consistent with other evidence suggesting that the small colony had grown into a much larger community. To the original *castrum*, a greatly expanded circuit of walls in *opus quadratum* was added at some point around the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, almost tripling the surface area within the city walls. Also in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, a much grander Capitolium was constructed over the modest temple of the early phase; and the small row of shops was replaced by a much more elaborate, three-winged, double colonnade. Finds from the underwater excavations carried out in the Garigliano River alongside the Roman colony further suggest that it was also in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century that the river port of Minturnae saw an increase in commercial and other economic activity. None of these bits of evidence is conclusive in itself; but taken together, and supplemented with our knowledge of the history of Minturnae from the literary sources, they are strongly suggestive of a pattern of significant immigration in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century.



Studies of migration in modern periods have, since about the 1960s, developed a series of analytical approaches to their data, the most basic of which fall into two simple categories: those that come from a micro-analytical perspective and those that come from a macro-analytical perspective. The applicability of these approaches to the evidence from Republican Italy is not always great; but they can nonetheless be useful in helping to determine what kinds of questions we can ask of our evidence.

The micro-analytical perspective seeks to understand people and processes rather than places and patterns. That is to say, the focus in this case is on the behaviour of individuals and on the decision-making process of individual migrants rather than on regularities in the patterns of aggregate migration data. The approaches of this type are largely refinements of the simple 'push-pull' view of migration, in which the individual's decision to move is based on the combination of negative factors in the current place of residence and superior factors elsewhere. Figures 1 and 2 (p. 54) are meant to illustrate this kind of approach. Figure 1 shows the sets of negative and positive perceived factors in the places of origin and destination, and a set of intervening obstacles.<sup>41</sup> Figure 2 is similar, but shows the decision-making process as a set of linear stages, at any one of which the potential migrant might in fact decide to stay in the current place of residence.<sup>42</sup>

As the thought process of the migrant is the central focus of micro-analytical models, studies of modern migration from this perspective must rely on data from surveys of individual migrants themselves. The total lack of any comparable data from Republican Italy thus puts this kind of approach beyond our reach. Nevertheless, it is sometimes useful to stop and think of migration from the perspective of the individual, even if we can never actually know what was inside the head, for example, of a Paelignian who was considering a move to Fregellae. It is useful, that is, to think about the kinds of negative factors that might cause an individual to consider emigration; to think about that individual's

---

<sup>41</sup> Taken from E. Lee, 'A theory of migration', *Demography* 3 (1966) pp. 47-57, at p. 48, via H. Jones, *Population Geography* (London 1990) p. 202.

<sup>42</sup> H. Jones, *Population Geography* (above n. 41) p. 202.

knowledge of opportunities available elsewhere (i.e. the question of information, which, of course, does not have to be accurate, but merely has to feed a *perception* of the advantages and disadvantages of possible destinations); and to think about the kinds of practical obstacles that might lead some individuals to believe they are better off staying where they are after all. Above all, thinking on the micro-analytical level can provide a useful reminder that individuals react to structural forces in different ways; and these ways are not always economically or geographically rational. We should not be surprised, then, to find some inhabitants of Republican Italy held in place by factors such as strong ties to their ancestral land, while a significant number of others dealt with their situation in what we would describe as an economically rational way and pursued opportunities often a considerable distance away from their places of origin.

Approaches to migration from a macro-analytical perspective begin instead with aggregate data for migration and attempt to develop a universal explanation for the patterns that appear. So, for example, one of the earliest and simplest models is a gravity model, based on Newton's Law of Universal Gravitation, wherein patterns of migration are determined by population size and distance. The attraction of a place is stronger when the distance between it and the immigrant's place of origin is shorter, while the places that attract immigrants from longer distances tend to be the larger places. Of course, this very simple model has undergone many refinements. Instead of population size as the determinant of a place's tendency to attract (or not) immigrants, emphasis has been placed on largely economic factors and on variables like the number of personal contacts (friends and relatives) between places of origin and destination. The most fundamentally important refinement, however, has been the appreciation of nature of the space between origin and destination not in the simple terms of linear distance, but in terms of the availability of socio-economic advantages and opportunities. In this case, then, an individual tends to migrate not to the nearest place, but to the nearest economic opportunity sufficiently superior to that left behind.<sup>43</sup> The further refinement of this approach has led to the clarification of patterns relevant to a number of the important variables determining migration likelihood. These variables include age (young adults

---

<sup>43</sup> The 'intervening opportunities' model was first developed and expressed by the social





tend to be the most mobile), socio-economic status (in contemporary developed countries, the skilled middle and upper classes are more mobile than the lower, though in the past, e.g. 19<sup>th</sup> century England, this trend was exactly the inverse), and past migration experience (individuals who have moved once are more likely to move again).

More recently, the micro- and macro-analytical models have been criticized as providing only part of the picture. Jones explains the criticism in his survey of approaches to the study of migration:<sup>44</sup>

‘(Micro- and macro-analytical models) deal with the proximate or intermediate determinants, rather than the fundamental determinants which lie in the creation of spatially uneven development in the first place. These models also fail to address adequately the pivotal role that migration has played – as cause, effect, and integral component – in socio-economic formation and transformation.’

As a result, the last generation of work on migration studies has tended more towards structuralist explanations of migration, which seek to understand the more fundamental causes of the phenomenon.

This brief account of the methods of modern migration studies is not completely gratuitous social science. The things that geographers of more recent periods get up to can be a useful guide to what kinds of things we should be looking for and to what kinds of things we can possibly hope to show for the ancient world. Obviously, when we shift back to the evidence from Republican Italy, some major problems arise. The micro-analytical models, designed to explain the decision process of the individual migrant, are based on data collected from direct questioning of migrants and of non-migrants. The evidence does not exist from the ancient world to produce this kind of a model. As already noted, however, the basic principle that different individuals will react to change in different ways must be kept in mind if we are to avoid making overly simplistic assumptions. Macro-analytical models of modern migration, on the other hand, are based on patterns that emerge from aggregate data from census returns including date of birth or migration questions, or from other useful registers. Here too we are out of luck when it comes to the ancient evidence. Nevertheless, using the range of possible evidence surveyed in the first part of

---

psychologist S. Stouffer; see H. Jones, *Population Geography* (above n. 41).

<sup>44</sup> H. Jones, *Population Geography* (above n. 41) p. 207.

this chapter, we should be able to reveal at least some impressions of patterns of net migration in Republican Italy. The resulting picture will be pretty crude in comparison to the equivalent modern studies; but developing such a picture as clearly as the evidence allows is the necessary first step in understanding the role of internal migration in the period in question.



**Table 1.**  
**Italian towns mentioned by Strabo as having grown**

5.1.6	Mediolanum
5.2.10	Forum Flaminium
5.2.10	Nuceria
5.2.10	Forum Sempronium
5.3.7	Rome
5.4.6	Dikaiarcheia-Puteoli
5.4.7	Neapolis
5.4.7	Baiae

**Table 2.**  
**Italian towns mentioned by Strabo as having shrunk or disappeared**

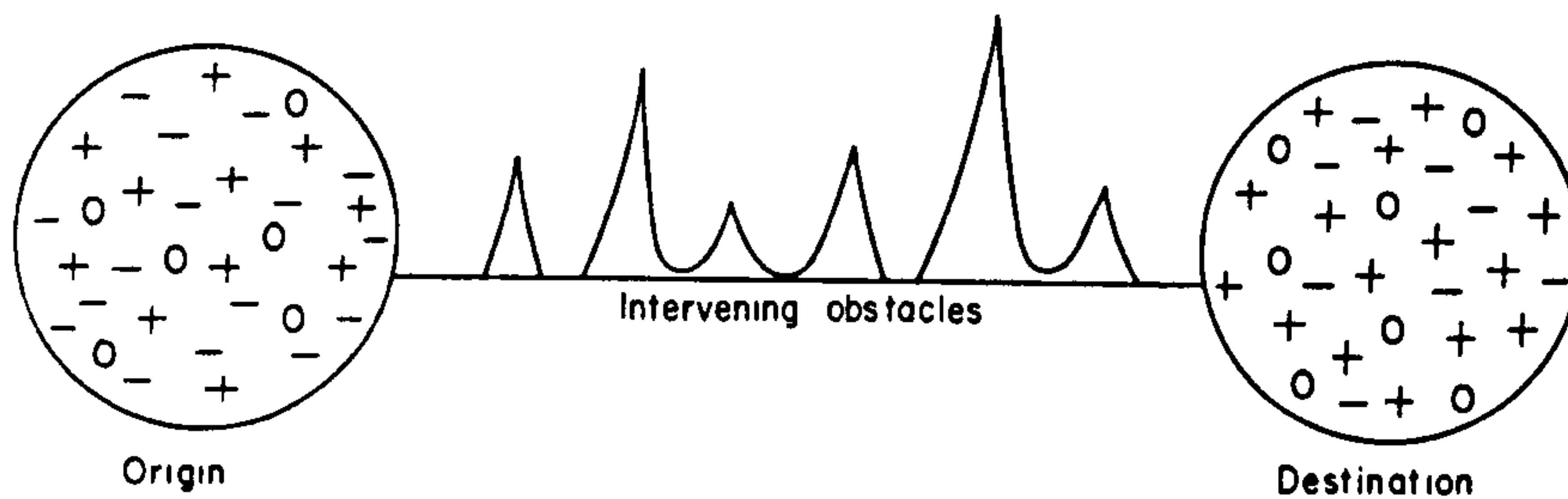
5.1.7	Spina
5.1.8	Atria
5.2.3	Caere
5.2.6	Poplonium
5.3.1	Cures
5.3.2	Collatia
5.3.2	Antemnae
5.3.2	Fidenae
5.3.2, 3.9	Labicum
5.3.10, 3.11	Aesernia
5.4.11	Bovianum
5.4.11	Panna
5.4.11	Telesia
6.1.1	Pyxus
6.1.5	Terina
6.1.6	Rhegium (but reinforced under Augustus)
6.1.10, 1.12	Croton
6.1.10	Caulonia
6.1.12	Sybaris-Thurii
6.1.14	Heracleia
6.1.15	Metapontum
6.3.1	Tarentum
6.3.9	Argyrippa
6.3.9	Luceria

**Table 3.**  
**Italian towns mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 3) as having disappeared**

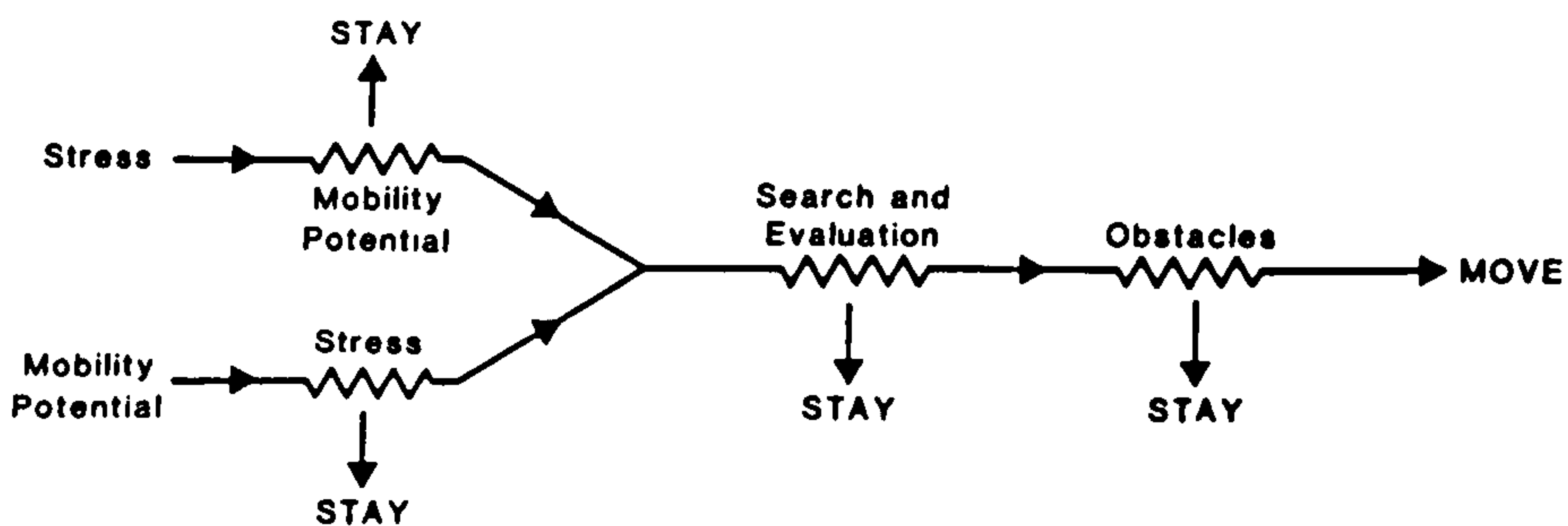
5.52	Crustumium
5.52	Caletra
5.59	Amyclae (destroyed by serpents (!))
5.59	Pirae
5.61	Cimmerium
5.68-70	53 peoples of Old Latium
5.70	Stabiae (destroyed by Sulla, 89 BC)
5.70	Taurania
5.70	Casilinum
5.72	Laus
10.95	Caulonia
11.97	Sybaris
11.98	Thebes
11.98	Mardonia
11.101	Soletum
12.108	4 Aequicolan peoples <i>Comini, Tadiates, Caedici, Alfaterni</i>
12.108	oppidum Vidicinorum (destroyed by the Romans)
13.110	Picenum
14.114	5 Umbrian peoples <i>Arinates, Usidicani, Plangenses, Paesinates, Caelestini</i>
15.116	Boii
15.116	Senones
16.120	Spina
17.125	Parra
17.125	Caturiges
17.125	Melpum (destroyed by Insubrians, Boii, and Senones, 396 BC)



**PAGE  
NUMBERS  
CUT OFF  
IN  
ORIGINAL**



**Figure 1.**  
**Origin and destination factors and intervening obstacles in migration**  
*Source: H. Jones, Population Geography, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1990) p. 202*



**Figure 2.**  
**A longitudinal representation of the migration process**  
*Source: H. Jones, Population Geography, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1990) p. 202*



## Chapter 3

### Southern Latium: Minturnae and the Liris Valley

Every student of Roman Italy in the Republican period will be aware of the phenomenon of large scale immigration to the city of Rome in the middle and late Republic.<sup>1</sup> The explicit references of Livy cited in the previous chapter give an idea of the scale: from the episode of 187 alone, we learn that some 12,000 Latins had immigrated to the city in the sixteen years since 204; and this figure of 12,000 refers to Latins only and excludes those Latins who had immigrated legally.<sup>2</sup> To the passages of Livy that explicitly record immigration, we can add others that record the dramatic growth of Rome, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. One of the more well known in this category would be Diodorus' anecdote about the arrival of Ptolemy VI Philometor in Rome in 163 BC, where Ptolemy found rents so high that he was forced to stay in a small and cheap attic room in some unfashionable part of the city, or Frontinus' explanation that the growth of the city had necessitated the construction of the *aqua Marcia* in 144 BC and the *aqua Tepula* in 125.<sup>3</sup> Beyond these well-known passages, there is also plenty of archaeological evidence of building and growth, particularly throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>4</sup>

Without doubt, the demographic consequences of that pattern of movement towards Rome will have had a serious impact on many of the surrounding areas in central Italy.<sup>5</sup> Several ancient authors noticed the decline over the last two centuries BC of numerous communities within easy reach of Rome. Pliny, for example, at the end of his description of *regio I*, provides a list

---

<sup>1</sup> For a recent account of the growth of the city of Rome, see N. Morley, *Metropolis and Hinterland* (Cambridge 1996) pp. 33-54.

<sup>2</sup> Livy 39.3.4-6. For the identification of the immigrants who were expelled in 187 BC as Latins only, see below, Chapter 6.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus, 31.18.2. Frontinus, *de aq.* 1.7.

<sup>4</sup> For the archaeological evidence of building at Rome in this period, F. Coarelli, 'Public building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla', *PBSR* 45 (1977) pp. 1-23, is still fundamental.

<sup>5</sup> See M.H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome', *JRS* 71 (1981) pp. 153-60; N. Morley, *Metropolis and Hinterland* (above n. 1) esp. pp. 174-80.

of no less than fifty-three places and peoples that had once been famous communities in Latium, but had by his time completely disappeared.<sup>6</sup> Strabo likewise comments on the decline of Collatia, Antemnae, and Fidenae, which were once ‘little cities, but now mere villages, or else estates of private citizens’.<sup>7</sup> Horace uses Gabii and Fidenae as examples of deserted towns, while Propertius describes Veii as by his time given over to cornfields and pastures. Archaeological evidence from one of the sites mentioned by Pliny and Strabo, Antemnae, in the immediate vicinity of Rome, is consistent with a sharp decline of the community over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the site of Cures Sabini, a bit further from the demographic pull of Rome, also shows signs of abandonment in the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>9</sup>

It is clearly not the case, however, that the history of internal migration in central Italy is everywhere to be determined by the great demographic magnet of Rome. Patterns can be revealed elsewhere in the general region that show a much more complex background of mobility in certain areas. The present chapter will look at one small part of the region – southern Latium – in an effort to reveal some of these patterns that developed independently of the great pull of Rome itself. What follows is not meant to serve as a comprehensive account of patterns of internal migration in southern Latium, but rather as an attempt to exemplify the phenomenon through an examination of two sites in particular – Minturnae and Fregellae (Map 1, p. 84) – from which the relevant evidence is considerably less thin than it is from much of the rest of the region.

It is a commonplace of accounts of the economic geography of the ancient world (and beyond) that port cities always attract immigrants. The following account of internal migration in southern Latium will begin with a clear example of this basic phenomenon, namely the growth of the small Roman colony of Minturnae at the mouth of the Liris River into a major focus of economic and commercial activity for the surrounding region. The example of development at Minturnae is one that has not received as much attention as

---

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 3.5.68-70: ‘Thus fifty-three peoples of old Latium have perished without a trace’ (*Ita ex antiquo Latium LIII populi interiire sine vestigiis*).

<sup>7</sup> Strabo 5.3.2: τότε μὲν πολίχνια, νῦν δὲ κῶμαι, ἢ κτήσεις ιδιωτῶν.

<sup>8</sup> L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Antemnae* (Rome 1978) pp. 153-68.

<sup>9</sup> The urban centre appears to have shrunk to one fifth the size it had maintained from the archaic period through to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century; see M.P. Muzzioli, *Cures Sabini* (*Forma Italiae, regio IV*, vol. II) (Rome 1980) p. 40.



probably it should. The data from the original excavations of the urban centre, carried out in the 1930s, has more recently been augmented by the results of a surface survey of the territory and by the results of underwater investigations in the Liris (mod. Garigliano) River.<sup>10</sup> In the first part of this chapter, I will pull together those data that are relevant to immigration and its context at Minturnae.

Immigration to the developing port city at Minturnae is, however, only one part of the picture of mobility in this area. The second half of the chapter, will therefore investigate patterns of movement in the region surrounding Minturnae, especially with regard to the Liris Valley and the areas around the Latin colony of Fregellae, which, as we have already seen, was another city for which Livy records a high level of immigration in this period: some 4,000 families from the central Appennine highlands had allegedly moved into the colony in the years leading up to 177 BC.<sup>11</sup> If there is any truth to that record at all, then the middle Liris Valley should prove to be another area of considerable mobility.

### *Minturnae: the expansion of the maritime colony*

The full range of evidence from Minturnae for the period between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC reveals two distinct phases in its development. The two phases reflect both a significant increase in the size of the settlement and a transformation in the local economy, that is, they reflect Minturnae's development from a typically small maritime colony with a clear strategic purpose to a much larger centre of economic activity linked mainly with its role as a port city. A high level of independent immigration must have played a central role both as a cause and as a consequence of this quantitative and qualitative transformation.

---

<sup>10</sup> The original excavations are published in J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae. Volume I: Monuments of the Republican Forum* (Philadelphia 1935) and *Volume II: Inscriptions* (Rome 1933). The surface survey of the territory, along with a reassessment of the existing evidence appears in F. Coarelli (ed.), *Minturnae* (Rome 1989). The results of the underwater investigations, including extensive catalogs of the abundant finds from the riverbed, are in S. Dominic Ruegg, *Underwater Investigations at Roman Minturnae. Liris-Garigliano River* (Jonsered 1995).

<sup>11</sup> Livy 41.8.8.

The archaeological remains of the urban centre of Minturnae in its earlier phase consist of a short wall circuit and two other modest buildings. The circuit of polygonal walls is rectangular in form, measuring about 182 × 155m, and is situated on the right bank of the Liris (mod. Garigliano) River about 2 km from its present mouth on the Tyrrhenian Sea (Figures 3 and 4, p. 85). This garrison (*castrum*) closely resembles those at Ostia and Pyrgi and is to be identified as the remains of the fortifications built for the original colonial foundation in 296 BC.<sup>12</sup> Given the similarity in size between the *castrum* at Minturnae and those at other maritime *coloniae civium Romanorum* (it is slightly larger than the original *castrum* at Ostia, slightly smaller than that at Pyrgi), it is likely that the number of colonists at Minturnae was three hundred, as it was in all the cases of maritime colonies for which figures are preserved.<sup>13</sup> In fact, Livy records the difficulty Rome had in finding even this small number of recruits for the settlement, as potential colonists hesitated at the unattractive prospect of what was thought to be ‘a permanent garrison in a hostile territory’.<sup>14</sup>

Other than the polygonal walls of the *castrum*, the only remains that date to the earlier period of Minturnae are a temple podium and a row of shops just outside the *castrum* walls to the west. The tufo remains of a modest temple podium are under the foundations of the later Capitolium in the south-west corner of the so-called Republican Forum and have been dated to the period just after the foundation of the colony in 296.<sup>15</sup> What have been interpreted as the remains of small shops were also found in the same area, under the foundations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century stoa.<sup>16</sup> Consistent with an early date for these two structures is

---

<sup>12</sup> J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae I* (above n. 10) pp. 1-2, originally thought the polygonal walls were the remains of the pre-Roman, Auruncan town of Minturnae, but later changed his mind and argued that the polygonal walls need not be pre-Roman and so could be, and in fact are, the walls of the Roman colony of 296; see J. Johnson, ‘The hill forts of Latium’, *AJA* 58 (1954) p. 146-7. The pre-Roman town of Minturnae, which Livy lists as one of the three destroyed by the Romans in 314, is now thought to be on the site of the modern city of Minturno (medieval Traetto); see M.P. Guidobaldi, ‘La colonia *civium romanorum* di Minturnae’, *DdArch* 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 6.2 (1988) p. 126. For the foundation of the colony in 296 BC, see Livy 10.21.8; Vell. 1.14.6.

<sup>13</sup> We know from Livy that the number of colonists was 300 both for the early example of Tarracina (8.21.11: 329 BC) and for the later examples of Buxentum, Liternum, Puteoli, Salernum, and Volturnum (34.45.1: 194 BC); see also E.T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (London 1969) pp. 71-2.

<sup>14</sup> Livy 10.21.10: *nec qui nomina darent facile inveniebantur, quia in stationem se prope perpetuam infestae regionis, non in agros mitti rebantur.*

<sup>15</sup> J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae I* (above n. 10) pp. 16-17.

<sup>16</sup> J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae I* (above n. 10) pp. 42-44.



Livy's notice that the *aedes Iovis* and the *tabernae* of Minturnae were struck by lightning in 191.<sup>17</sup> In both cases the remains are of modest structures and do little to change the picture of Minturnae in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century as a small fortified military installation, whose reason for existence at the time of its foundation in 296 seems to have been primarily to protect the point where the *via Appia* crossed the Liris River.<sup>18</sup>

Data collected during the surface survey of the surrounding territory in the 1980s supports this picture. There is very little archaeological evidence for any kind of systematic, permanent exploitation of the territory in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> Livy's account of the final defeat of the Aurunci suggests further that any surviving population of the original inhabitants of the area would have been insignificant. Livy records that, because there were no commanders present when the Roman army made the decisive attack, the soldiers spared none of the inhabitants of the three Auruncan communities at Ausona, Minturnae and Vescia: 'there was no limit to the slaughter and the Ausonian people was wiped out'.<sup>20</sup> Of course, Livy has without doubt preserved an exaggerated account of the extent of the massacre, though the fact that we know precious little about the Aurunci does suggest that only a greatly reduced number survived their clash with the Romans.<sup>21</sup>

The only notable early structure in the territory of Minturnae is a stretch of polygonal walls datable to the late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, located in the area of modern Scauri, about 6 km up the coastline from the site of the early garrison of Minturnae.<sup>22</sup> Guidobaldi and Rosi date the structure to soon after the foundation

---

<sup>17</sup> Livy 36.37.3.

<sup>18</sup> The *via Appia* formed the *decumanus maximus* of the colony, which is situated at exactly the point where the *via Appia* crossed the river. For this role of the colony as a military guardpost, see B. Frier, 'Points on the topography of Minturnae', *Historia* 18 (1969) pp. 510-12; A.C. Brookes, 'Minturnae: the via Appia bridge', *AJA* 78 (1974) pp. 41-8. For the remains of the *via Appia*'s bridge supports in the banks of the river, see S. Dominic Ruegg, *Underwater Investigations* (above n. 10) pp. 22, 54, 125-7.

<sup>19</sup> A. Codagnone et al., 'Conclusioni', in *Minturnae*, p. 172. It is important to note, however, that, as always, the interpretation of rural sites – or lack thereof – is difficult. It is always a possibility that the absence of archaeological material from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century does not necessarily signify that there was little exploitation of the territory in that period, but only that what exploitation there was did not leave behind the durable kinds of remains that survive from intensive agricultural villas of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

<sup>20</sup> Livy 9.25.9: *nullus modus caedibus fuit deletaque Ausonum gens*.

<sup>21</sup> For the paucity of evidence of the Aurunci, see F. Trotta, 'Minturnae preromana e il culto di Marica', in *Minturnae*, pp. 11-16.

<sup>22</sup> See M.P. Guidobaldi, 'La colonia civium romanorum di Minturnae', (above n. 12) p. 128, and G. Rosi, 'Il territorio di Scauri', in *Minturnae*, pp. 99-110.

of the colony at Minturnae in 296 and have identified it as the walls of the *oppidum* of Pirae, which according to Pliny had stood between Formiae and Minturnae.<sup>23</sup> As such, they believe it served as a fortification to protect the territory of Minturnae from dangers coming from the sea. A closer look at the remains at Scauri, however, calls this identification into doubt. First, the surviving stretch of walls is 127.5 m long. If this is one side of an *oppidum*, then the total surface area of the *oppidum* is not likely to have been very much smaller than that of the colonial *castrum* itself. Remembering the difficulty Rome had in recruiting colonists for Minturnae, it seems unlikely that the colony could have consisted both of the *castrum* and of this significant settlement nearby. Second, the irregularity of the plan at Scauri is in stark contrast to the rectilinear plan of the *castrum* walls at Minturnae. There is at least one bend in the surviving stretch of wall which itself shows two different building techniques. It is more likely that the polygonal walls at Scauri belong to some pre-Roman settlement, and thus that their existence also does little to change the picture of early Minturnae.<sup>24</sup>

The second phase in the archaeological record of Republican Minturnae reveals a settlement that had undergone a striking amount of growth since the phase of the original colonial foundation. At some point, an extended wall circuit in *opus quadratum* was built to fortify the area to the west of the original *castrum* (Figure 3, p. 85). The northern stretch of this wall, much of which has been excavated, extends for 245 m from the northwest corner of the *castrum*, reaching as far as the so-called *Porta Gemina* on the *via Appia*, which will have formed the new entrance to the city from the west. The continuation of the wall circuit from the *Porta Gemina* back in the direction of the river and the original *castrum* fortifications is reconstructed on the basis of aerial photography alone, and so what were probably various phases of construction are not clearly distinguishable.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, even on a modest estimate of the first extension of the wall circuit, the surface area included within the urban centre of Minturnae

---

<sup>23</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 3.59.

<sup>24</sup> F. Coarelli, *Lazio*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Bari 1993) p. 368.

<sup>25</sup> In the reconstruction of its greatest extent, for example, the circuit on the west side of the site goes out of its way to include the amphitheatre (not excavated, but obvious in the aerial photographs and from the concavity in the terrain), and so must represent a further extension of a



in its second phase was more than three times what it had been at the time of the foundation of the colony.<sup>26</sup> The dating of that first extension of the wall is consequently of central importance for the understanding of the chronology of growth at Minturnae as its date would provide a reliable *terminus ante quem* for the increase that required the extension of the fortifications. In his re-evaluation of the walls of Minturnae, Johnson concluded that the second circuit does not date to the foundation of the colony in 296, as he had originally thought, but rather that it was added 'sometime later in that century'.<sup>27</sup> In their more recent re-assessments of the remains of the site, Guidobaldi and Coarelli have also suggested that the extended *opus quadratum* wall was built before the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> If this dating is accurate, then the population increase and resulting urban expansion that necessitated a second, larger circuit of defensive walls must also, as a trend, have begun already in the middle and later decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Within the extended wall circuit of the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century, there have been uncovered further archaeological remains that are consistent with an amount of building activity that suggests the community of Minturnae had experienced much growth already by the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The modest buildings that had stood to the west of the *castrum* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century were, in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, rebuilt on a far grander scale. The earlier simple temple was replaced by a triple-cella temple, which has been interpreted as the Capitolium, and the row of shops by a more elaborate three-winged, double colonnade around the Capitolium.<sup>29</sup>

---

still later phase.

<sup>26</sup> F. Coarelli, *Lazio* (above n. 24) p. 371.

<sup>27</sup> J. Johnson, 'The hill forts of Latium', (above n. 12) p. 147.

<sup>28</sup> M.P. Guidobaldi and F. Pesando, 'La colonia *civium Romanorum*', in *Minturnae*, p. 50; F. Coarelli, *Lazio* (above n. 24) p. 371.

<sup>29</sup> J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae I* (above n. 10) pp. 18-28, 44-50. A date between 191 and 150 BC for this new construction rests on several pieces of evidence. The date for the colonnade is known from a stylistic link between its architectural terracottas and those of the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Fregellae – the latter having been dated to the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century; see M.P. Guidobaldi, 'La colonia *civium romanorum* di Minturnae', (above n. 12) pp. 128-9; for the date of the sanctuary at Fregellae, see F. Coarelli (ed.), *Fregellae II*. Livy (36.37.3) provides further precision when he records that the older buildings around the forum were struck by lightning in 191, providing a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the new structures. A coin hoard buried ca. 200 BC under the foundations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century colonnade provides further support for the date given by Livy for the destruction of the older structures (J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae I* (above n. 10) pp. 42-3; for the publication of the hoard, see E.T. Newell, *Two hoards from Minturno. Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 60 (New York 1933); for the ca. 200 date for the burial of the hoard, see M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, I (Cambridge 1974) p. 15).



Likewise in the territory of the colony, there is a notable increase in the amount of new building and the evidence of activity in this later phase.<sup>30</sup>

A 3<sup>rd</sup> century date – in fact, probably not long after the original foundation – for the beginning of significant levels of immigration to Minturnae is consistent with the history of the region and of Italy as a whole in this period. As we have seen, when Minturnae was founded in 296, the Roman government had difficulty finding willing settlers for what was then considered to be a vulnerable military outpost on the edge of enemy territory. The perceived vulnerability of the site could not have lasted long. Certainly the immediate threat to the region had been eliminated within a few years of the foundation. With the defeat of the Samnites – along with the Gauls, Etruscans and Umbrians – at the Battle of Sentinum in 295, and after Rome's mopping-up operation in Samnium in the following year, Rome's position was never again seriously threatened from within Italy.<sup>31</sup>

Of course, the colonists and potential immigrants would not have recognized the relative security of the area immediately in 295. Given that the territory had already once fallen into Samnite hands after its original conquest by the Romans, we should not expect the colonists overnight to have considered themselves safe to move out into the territory and plant vineyards or rear stock. Their apprehension would only have been compounded by the presence of Pyrrhus' forces in Italy from 280 to 275. After the defeat of Pyrrhus at Beneventum in 275, however, there was no unusual threat to Roman possessions in Italy until the invasion of Hannibal in 218. It is to be noted that Minturnae's role of protecting the *via Appia* crossing of the Liris River would have been no less important in this period. The major difference in the decades after 275 is rather that only the most paranoid of potential settlers could then have considered the territory of Minturnae still to be a *regio infesta*.<sup>32</sup>

It is during this period that the economic advantages of Minturnae's geographical position would have begun to manifest themselves and very rapidly

---

<sup>30</sup> A. Codagnone, 'Il territorio di Minturno', in *Minturnae*, pp. 87-96; L.M. Proietti, 'Il territorio di Castelforte e SS. Cosma e Damiano', in *Minturnae*, pp. 121-41; G. Rosi, 'Il territorio di Scauri', in *Minturnae*, pp. 97-119.

<sup>31</sup> M.H. Crawford, *The Roman Republic*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1992) p. 35.

<sup>32</sup> Livy 10.21.10.

to outweigh the disadvantages of settling in a colony originally intended as a military garrison. This picture gains further support from the cessation at this time of the evidence of commercial activity at the sanctuary of Dea Marica, the pre-Roman sanctuary located right at the mouth of the Liris River.<sup>33</sup> The archaeological material found at the site of the sanctuary of Dea Marica shows it to have been an important link on the coastal trade route between Etruria and Campania as early as the late 6<sup>th</sup> century. The evidence of relative prosperity at the sanctuary continues right up to, and for a few decades after, the foundation of the Roman colony in 296. At that point, around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the evidence of commercial activity at the site dries up. Commerce in the region seems then to have shifted upriver to the colony at Minturnae.

*From guardpost to port city: the transformation of Minturnae*

The connection between economic opportunities and immigration is nowhere more clear than at the colony of Minturnae, where there is evidence of a striking amount of economic activity of various kinds by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. As a port city, Minturnae during the later Republic was a significant rival to the other commercial centres of the Tyrrhenian coast at Puteoli and Ostia, especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century before Puteoli or Ostia had really taken off as commercial centres. Evidence from shipwrecks suggests that at least by the 1<sup>st</sup> century, but probably beginning already in the 2<sup>nd</sup>, Minturnae had become an important point for the exportation of wine, certainly from its own territory and probably also from the *ager Caecubus* and the *ager Falernus*. Two wrecks in particular are thought to have originated from the port at Minturnae. The Dramont A wreck off the southern coast of France contained some 1,000 Dressel 1B amphorae and dates to the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>34</sup> In addition to the amphorae in the cargo were found an amphora seal marked *SEX ARRI.M.F* and two lead anchor-stocks inscribed *SEX.ARR[I]*. It is thought that this *Sextus Arrius* was one of the *Arrii* of Minturnae and that he was a merchant engaged in the export of wine from that region, probably to Gaul in this case. A second wreck, at Santa Severa off the

---

<sup>33</sup> F. Trotta, 'Minturnae preromana e il culto di Marica', in *Minturnae*, p. 16-21.

<sup>34</sup> A.J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces*, BAR International Series 580 (Oxford 1992) #371, pp. 165-6.



coast of Etruria, is also thought to have come from the port of Minturnae. It too dates to the mid 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and carried a cargo of Dressel 1B amphorae, all with stamps that also appear (with one exception) on the Dramont A wreck.<sup>35</sup> Two wrecks from the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD show the port of Minturnae still involved in the commerce of wine in the early Empire. The La Garoupe A wreck (near Antibes) and the Ile-Rouse wreck (off Corsica) each include several examples of large dolia used to transport wine. In both cases, the dolia are stamped with the names of different members of the rarely attested *gens Pirana*.<sup>36</sup> Other than on these dolia, the name appears epigraphically only on the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC *magistri* inscriptions from Minturnae.<sup>37</sup> The appearance of the *Piranius* name on the dolia of these shipwrecks strongly suggests that one, or possibly a branch, of the *Pirani* of Minturnae owned the factory that produced them.<sup>38</sup>

Local production of wine-transporting dolia was just one of the ways in which Minturnae contributed to seaborne commerce from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century on. Exploitation of the woodlands surrounding the Vescian Plain produced the raw materials – timber and pitch – for other types of commercially interested economic activity as well.<sup>39</sup> The gravestone of a *Q Caelius architectus navalis*, found in the territory of the colony, suggests that local timber supported a ship-building industry at Minturnae.<sup>40</sup> Pitch, extracted from the trees of the surrounding forests, was used as a sealant both in ships and in amphorae.<sup>41</sup> The presence of *picarii socii* among the slave-owners on the *magistri* inscriptions shows that by the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC the exploitation of the forests for pitch had grown into a well-organised activity on a significant scale.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> A.J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks* (above n. 34) #1035, pp. 385-6.

<sup>36</sup> A.J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks* (above n. 34) #436, p. 187; #510, p. 214.

<sup>37</sup> The *magistri* inscriptions are a set of 29 (and a fragment of another) inscriptions dating from the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC that were re-used in the podium of the Tiberian temple (so-called Temple A) at Minturnae. The inscriptions contain the names of the slave and freedman *magistri* of local cults. In addition to attesting a significant servile presence, the lists provide a valuable catalogue of the *gentilicia* of slave-owners in late Republican Minturnae. See J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae II* (above n. 10).

For the *Pirani* and the possible derivation of the name from the *oppidum Pirae* mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 3.59) as being located near Minturnae, see *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, Fasc. III, 2691, 2700, 2701, 2703; J. Johnson, in *RE* xx.2, col. 1721, s.v. Piranus.

<sup>38</sup> M.P. Guidobaldi and F. Pesando, 'La colonia *civium romanorum*', in *Minturnae*, p. 46.

<sup>39</sup> M.P. Guidobaldi and F. Pesando, 'La colonia *civium romanorum*', in *Minturnae*, p. 44.

<sup>40</sup> *CIL* X, 5371.

<sup>41</sup> J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae II* (above n. 10) p. 126. For an example of the use of pitch in amphorae, see the Santa Severa shipwreck, whose Dr. 1B amphorae were 'thickly pitched internally'; A. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks* (above n. 34) #1035, pp. 385-6.

<sup>42</sup> The *socii picarii* appear five times as slave-owners: *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, Fasc. III, 2678, 2684, 2691, 2693



In addition to its overseas links, the port at Minturnae must also have been an important commercial centre serving the nearby regions of Italy itself. Cato, in the *de Agricultura*, lists Minturnae, along with Cales, as one of the best places in central Italy to buy agricultural implements.<sup>43</sup> The important lines of communication passing through Minturnae must have contributed significantly to the city's centrality in this regard. The *via Appia* linked Minturnae with the many communities on the Tyrrhenian coast between Rome and Campania; while the Liris River, which was navigable in antiquity, at least for barges, probably as far upriver as the confluence with the Trerus (the modern Sacco) near Fregellae, served the same purpose for the communities in and around the lower Liris Valley.<sup>44</sup>

In the territory of the colony, there is also a striking amount of new building in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Survey of the area around Minturnae has revealed at least 18 villa sites that appear for the first time in the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>45</sup> Most of the rural sites are relatively large, are within easy reach of the *via Appia* or of the Liris (Garigliano), and seem to have been devoted to the production of wine. The massive quantities of Dressel 1 amphorae fragments found in the survey and the presence along the Garigliano of two kiln sites producing Dressel 1 and Dressel 2/4 amphorae suggest that this area was among those that saw the development of intensive viticulture during the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>46</sup> The region is certainly well-placed for such a development, sandwiched as it is between two of the most famous wine-producing regions of Roman Italy: the *ager Caecubus* around Fundi to the north and the *ager Falernus* of northern Campania to the south. Although the wine produced in the territory of Minturnae was not as famous for its quality as these other two – Horace implies that it was of only

---

and 2696.

<sup>43</sup> Cato, *de Agri Cultura*, 135.

<sup>44</sup> *Digest* 19.2.13.1; Ulpian refers to ships on the Liris in the time of Tiberius. See also F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', in *La Romanisation du Samnium aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> siècles av. J.-C. Actes du colloque international. (Naples 1988)*. Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Naples: Deuxième Série 9 (1991) pp. 184-5 for possible evidence of a port at Fregellae.

<sup>45</sup> The evidence is collected in A. Codagnone, 'Il territorio di Minturno', in *Minturnae*, pp. 87-96; L.M. Proietti, 'Il territorio di Castelforte e SS. Cosma e Damiano', in *Minturnae*, pp. 121-41; and G. Rosi, 'Il territorio di Scauri', in *Minturnae*, pp. 97-119.

<sup>46</sup> A. Hesnard et al., 'Aires de production de Gréco-italiques et des Dr. 1', in *Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherche. Actes du colloque de Sienne (22-24 mai 1986)* (Rome 1989) pp. 21-65.

mediocre quality – it could nonetheless have been an economically significant product.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to intensive viticulture, evidence of which conveniently survives in the form of villa sites and the durable material evidence of amphorae, dolia, and the kilns that produced them, there is evidence of the importance of stock rearing to the economy of Minturnae; or at least there is evidence of the importance of Minturnae to the economy of stock rearing in the region. The production of salt clearly played an important role in the economic life of the city. On the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC *magistri* lists, in addition to the *picarii socii* mentioned above, the collective of the *salinatores socii* appears four times as owners of slaves listed there.<sup>48</sup> Without the aid of refrigeration technology, the importance of salt as a preservative was enormous in the storage and transportation of one of the final products of stock rearing, the meat itself. Thus, the availability of salt is an important further characteristic that provided opportunities at Minturnae itself and that contributed to the development of strong economic links with surrounding areas like the valley of the Liris River and the territory of Fregellae, where, as we shall see below, the evidence of large-scale stock rearing in this period is abundant. On the subject of productive activity linked to stock rearing, it is worth noting also the passage from the *Digest* in which Ulpian, in explaining the legal position on the discharge of smoke from a cheese-making establishment onto the buildings above it, cites a publicly leased cheese-making shop of Minturnae as an example.<sup>49</sup>

The picture of Minturnae in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC is one of a significant centre of economic activity. Organized intensive exploitation of the territory produced wine, timber, pitch and salt. At the same time, the development of the natural harbour on the Liris River gave rise to a port and

---

<sup>47</sup> Horace, *Epist.* 1.5.5: *Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis / nec modica cenare times holus omne patella, / supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo. / vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustris / inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum. / si melius quid habes, arcesse vel imperium fer.*

For the economic importance of quantity production of wine as well as quality production, and for the ability of high quantity, low price wines always to find a market, see N. Purcell, 'Wine and wealth in ancient Italy', *JRS* 75 (1985) esp. pp. 16-19. See also A. Tchernia, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine. Essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores* (Rome 1986) pp. 109-12.

<sup>48</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 2691 (= *ILLRP* 738); 2693; 2698 (= *ILLRP* 734); and 2703 (= *ILLRP* 743).

<sup>49</sup> *Digest* 8.5.8.5-7.



commercial centre that handled high volumes of trade both with distant overseas markets and with those of the neighbouring regions of Italy. It is clear that the colony at Minturnae had undergone a dramatic transformation between its foundation as a military guardpost on the *via Appia* in 296 and its position by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century as a major centre of commercial activity and agricultural production. It is equally clear that immigration must have been a primary contributor to and consequence of this transformation and that the arrival of immigrants is to be closely linked to the development of economic activity on a greater and more diverse scale. It is, after all, from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century that comes the evidence of the expansion of the original fortifications and of the considerable growth of the city.

The evidence presented above provides us with a reasonably clear picture of a pattern of migration into Minturnae over the course of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. To arrive at a fuller picture, however, it would be useful to know the origin of those flows of immigration. Attempts have been made to identify the origin of the immigrant population at Minturnae based on the record of names preserved in the Republican epigraphy of the city. Johnson attempted to analyse the gentilicia that appear in the twenty-nine *magistri* lists from Minturnae, with the hope of determining the origins of at least some of the inhabitants of the colony in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>50</sup> This method of purely onomastic analysis must be employed with caution as results can vary greatly depending on the strictness of the criteria applied. Of the 121 *gentilicia* that appear in the *magistri* lists, Johnson determined that 86 were attributable; that of the 86, some 38% were Italic and represented the immigrant population of the colony; and finally that these immigrant *gentes* are linked, epigraphically and toponymously, predominantly with Campania and southern Italy. One obvious weakness of Johnson's method, in the context of an attempt to identify individual immigrants, is that it fails to take account of the possibility of immigrants having what he considers to be Roman names. Guidobaldi and Pesando have more recently attempted a similar kind of analysis. They express doubts about the reliability of the results of Johnson's onomastic study and consequently adopt a stricter set of

---

<sup>50</sup> J. Johnson, *The Excavations at Minturnae II* (above n. 10) pp. 49ff.



criteria, limiting themselves to a treatment of those names on the *magistri* lists that are well enough attested elsewhere to allow for a reasonably secure identification.<sup>51</sup> With these limits, they are able to identify the origins of only seventeen of the 121 *gentes* that appear in the lists: nine belonging to original colonists of 296 BC and eight belonging to Romans who appear later with possessions or commercial interests in the area.

The difficulty of identifying immigrants by name is clear. We are unfortunately reduced to speculation as to their origin. Johnson suggested Campania and southern Italy. Campania is clearly a strong possibility as a source of immigrants to Minturnae. As we have already seen, early trade links existed between Campania and the territory on which the colony of Minturnae would later be settled through the activity of the sanctuary of Dea Marica. With the arrival of the Romans and the construction of the *via Appia* to Capua, links with northern Campania would have become even closer still. The rest of southern Italy, however, is not so obvious a supplier of migrants for Minturnae.

A much stronger possibility is Guidobaldi's suggestion that strong commercial and geographical links with the communities of the middle and lower Liris Valley could easily have acted as migratory channels bringing individuals from the interior out to the coastal colony. Though impossible to prove, this suggestion draws support from a number of factors. The Liris River – navigable in antiquity from the mouth at Minturnae probably right up to Fregellae – was the important physical link. Commerce on the river would have brought people from the two regions into contact. Two nice examples of that commercial contact are the close similarity of two common votive head types found at Fregellae to votive types from Minturnae, and the similar discovery at the sanctuary of Aesculapius in Fregellae of numerous elements of architectural terracottas of a certain few types that appear also among the remains of the buildings of the Republican forum at Minturnae.<sup>52</sup>

In this regard, it is interesting to note also that, just inside the lower Liris valley, about 30 km upriver from Minturnae, the Latin colony at Interamna Lirenas, which had been founded in 312 was struggling for survival during the

---

<sup>51</sup> M.P. Guidobaldi and F. Pesando, 'Note di prosopografia Minturnense', in *Minturnae*, pp. 67ff.

<sup>52</sup> See L. Ferrea and A. Pinna, 'Il deposito votivo', in *Fregellae* 2, p. 92; and G. Manca de Mores and M.N. Pagliardi, 'Le terrecotte architettoniche', in *Fregellae* 2, p. 63.

3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>53</sup> Founded in a territory of poor quality, Interamna seems to have suffered the effects of large-scale emigration: it was one of the twelve colonies in 209 BC that claimed to be unable to send any more troops to Rome for the war against Hannibal.<sup>54</sup> It is possible that the colony at Interamna Lirenas had been losing some of its population to the growing city at Minturnae with its far superior, and in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century probably partially unclaimed, territory. The Liris Valley was also a channel for individual migrants from the Appennine highlands. In a passage we have already noted, and to which we will return in greater detail below, Livy records the embassies of the Samnites and Paelignians at Rome complaining that 4,000 of their families had moved from the their highland territories down to Fregellae. This flow of Italians from the interior towards the coast, possibly along now established transhumance routes and definitely along the same routes followed in an earlier time by the Volscians and Samnites who infiltrated the coastal plains of this area, must also have contributed to population increase at Minturnae. Even if the criteria for immigration to a colony of full Roman status were in theory more restrictive, the general level of mobility in Italy had by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century reached a point at which such potential restrictions seem to have done little to limit the immigration of non-Romans to a place like Minturnae. Add to these possibilities the certainty of a huge influx of slaves to the colony and, in the later Republic, the presence of several great Romans in luxury villas on the coast and with commercial interests in the port city, and the result is the large and prosperous Minturnae that we find in the evidence from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC on.

#### *The middle Liris Valley: the case of Fregellae*

The phenomenon of large-scale migration to the port city at Minturnae cannot be treated in isolation from the economic developments in the territory inland of the mouth of the Liris River. Livy's reference to the large scale of Samnite and Paelignian immigration to the Latin colony of Fregellae (4,000

---

<sup>53</sup> E.M. Wightman and J.W. Hayes, 'Settlement patterns and society', in J.W. Hayes and I.P. Martini (eds.), *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Liri Valley, Central Italy, under the direction of Edith Mary Wightman*, BAR Int. Ser. 595 (1994), p. 38.

<sup>54</sup> Livy 27.9-10.



families), in the heart of the Liris Valley, is a strong indication that here too, we should find a high level of mobility in this period.<sup>55</sup>

Much of the middle Liris Valley formed an exceptionally fertile and prosperous zone in antiquity, as is reflected in the number of important settlements in the general area.<sup>56</sup> Strabo, for example, in listing the cities in the interior of Latium notes the significance of several towns in the Liris Valley: he refers to Aquinum as a large city (Ἀκουῖνον, ἡ μεγάλη πόλις ἐστί), to Casinum as also noteworthy (Κάσινον καὶ αὕτη πόλις ἀξιόλογος), and to nearby Teanum Sidicinum (just the other side of Roccamonfina from Minturnae) as the largest city on the *via Latina*.<sup>57</sup> Most striking of all, however, is Strabo's brief description of the (by his time no longer existing) Latin colony of Fregellae as 'now merely a village, although it was once a noteworthy city and formerly held as dependencies most of the surrounding cities just mentioned', i.e. the cities along the *via Latina*.<sup>58</sup> In whatever way one interprets Strabo's description of Fregellae's relationship with the surrounding towns here (see below), it is clear that the colony was of central importance in the region in and around the middle Liris Valley, a simple observation that is supported by the rest of our evidence for the history of Fregellae in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>59</sup> The significance for the present work is in trying to understand the relationship between the colony's central importance and the phenomenon of internal migration in which it appears to have played a major part.

Before turning to the evidence from Fregellae itself, a few preliminary points can be made on the basis of the passage of Livy in which delegates at Rome in 177 BC complained about a trend of large-scale migration to the colony. In that passage, as we have already seen, Livy records that 'Samnites and Paelignians were also complaining that 4,000 families from their territory had

---

<sup>55</sup> Livy 41.8.8.

<sup>56</sup> We have already noted one of the exceptions to this general assessment: the case of the Latin colony at Interamna Lirenas, founded on the less fertile southern side of the valley of the Liris.

<sup>57</sup> Strabo 5.3.9; cf. 5.4.10. It is worth noting that all three of the cities mentioned here by Strabo were of non-Latin allied status until the Social War. If their importance in the region is linked to migration in the pre-Social War period, then they would constitute further evidence of the independence of the phenomenon of migration from questions of juridical status.

<sup>58</sup> Strabo 5.3.10: ἔτι δὲ Φρεγγέλλαι . . . νῦν μὲν κώμη, πόλις δὲ ποτε γεγονυῖα ἀξιόλογος καὶ τὰς πολλὰς τῶν ἄρτι λεχθεῖσων περιουκίδας πρότερον ἐσχηκυῖα.

<sup>59</sup> On the possible interpretation of Strabo's description as related to a kind of primacy among Latin colonies, see F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae 1*, p. 36.

gone over to Fregellae'.<sup>60</sup> A first and obvious point is that the origin of these particular immigrants to Fregellae has been recorded only because those left behind in Samnite and Paelignian territory sent embassies to the Roman senate to complain. Given the central importance of Fregellae in the region of southern Latium, it seems likely that immigrants to the colony would have come from other areas of that region as well, but that these latter have escaped the notice of the historical record as we have it; possibly because the number emigrating from any one community was not large enough to warrant an embassy to the Roman senate from that community, or because the cumulative impact of such a trend was not felt in some places until the years closer to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, for which Livy's text does not survive.

A second point that can be drawn from Livy's reference to the migration of individuals from Samnite and Paelignian territory to Fregellae concerns the route that was probably taken, along a fairly long system of connected valleys and passes, from the highland territory of the central Appennines down to the site of the colony in the Liris Valley. To take the route from Paelignian territory first: one possibility is that the migrants passed along the *via Valeria* to the region of the Fucine Lake and then down the length of the upper and middle valleys of the Liris, passing on their way through the territories of Alba Fucens, Sora, and Arpinum.<sup>61</sup> Another possibility, slightly more direct, is a route due south from Corfinium and Sulmo, through what is now Scanno towards what is now the little town of Villetta Barrea, and from there across the Forca d'Àcero into the territory of Atina, then across to Arpinum and down the short distance from there to Fregellae. As for the immigrants from Samnium, if we imagine them to have come from, or at least via, the territory of Aufidena, then the route followed is likely to have been either the same as that just outlined as a possibility for the Paelignians, that is, over the Forca d'Àcero and across the territory of Atina and Arpinum, or the slightly longer route down the valley of the Volturnus (passing Aesernia and Venafrum) and then along the *via Latina* (passing Interamna Lirenas and Aquinum). Other than the not inconsiderable distance covered, the significance of these routes lies in the juridical status of the

---

<sup>60</sup> Livy 41.8.8: *Fregellas quoque milia quattuor familiarum transisse ab se Samnites Paelignique querebantur.*

<sup>61</sup> F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, p. 37.



communities passed along the way. Some of the Paelignians might have passed the Latin colonies of Alba Fucens and Sora; all of them will have passed through the territory of Arpinum, which had recently been promoted into the full Roman citizenship. Similarly in the case of the Samnite immigrants, any who might have come down the valley of the Volturnus would have passed the Latin colonies of Aesernia and Interamna Lirenas, while any who took the shorter route over the Forca d'Àcero would have passed Arpinum. The routes taken in these cases, then, are further support for a picture of the phenomenon of internal migration in which the motivation of the migrants was not a simple desire to acquire a better juridical status. Had the goal of the Samnite and Paelignian migrants been simply an improved juridical status, they could have moved the shorter distance to one of the Latin colonies nearer to their territories, or they could have settled in the (by that time) Roman community of Arpinum. Instead, they made the more distant Latin colony of Fregellae the destination of their moves. The explanation of the trend, therefore, must lie in the attraction of economic opportunities that were available at Fregellae more so than at any other community in the general area.

It is worth stressing also the scale of the movement from the territories of the Samnites and Paelignians into Fregellae. Livy records the delegates complaining of the emigration of 4,000 families, a figure that represents a total somewhere in the range of 12-16,000 individuals altogether.<sup>62</sup> The economic attraction of Fregellae must have been very strong indeed to have drawn such high numbers of immigrants, just as the real economic opportunities actually available in the city must have been enough to support a population greatly increased by the addition of so many new arrivals.

Looking now at our evidence from Fregellae itself, whatever uncertainties might exist in the interpretation of the archaeological record so far uncovered at the site (to which we will turn below), the growth of the community from a strategic Latin colony on the frontier of Roman controlled territory in the 4<sup>th</sup> century into one of the most important cities of Italy by the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century is beyond doubt.

---

<sup>62</sup> F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', (above n. 44) p. 180.

The Latin colony of Fregellae was initially founded in 328 BC.<sup>63</sup> It was famously situated on the left bank of the Liris River, that is to say, on the Samnite side of the boundary agreed upon by the Romans and the Samnites in 354 as part of the treaty that established their respective spheres of influence in central Italy. According to Livy, the colony was subsequently captured by the Samnites during the course of the Second Samnite War and its inhabitants slaughtered.<sup>64</sup> Following the conclusion of that war, the site of Fregellae was re-occupied by colonists in 313, while a second Latin colony in the lower Liris Valley, that of Interamna Lirenas, was founded in the following year.<sup>65</sup> Neither for the original foundation of 328, nor for the re-occupation of 313 have the sources transmitted a figure for the number of settlers at Fregellae, though there is no reason to believe the size of the colony would have differed from that of those Latin colonies of this period for which figures have been preserved, that is, somewhere between a minimum of 2,500 and maximum of 6,000 colonists.<sup>66</sup>

The site of Fregellae is situated at the centre of a large and fertile territory in a location that in antiquity, as still today, lay on important lines of communication between central and southern Italy and between the interior and the coast. The city was positioned on the *via Latina*, the major road connection from Rome in the north to Campania in the south. The foundation was also linked to the Appennine highlands by the middle Liris Valley and to the maritime colony at Minturnae by the lower stretch of the navigable Liris River. The site of the colony demonstrated its strategic importance most clearly in the course of the Second Punic War, when, in 211, according to Livy's account of events, its key location atop a plateau along the *via Latina* proved enough to withstand the forces of Hannibal and to slow the progress of his march on Rome for long

---

<sup>63</sup> Livy 8.22.1.

<sup>64</sup> Livy 9.12.5-8. For the alternative possibility that the Romans agreed to the withdrawal of their colonists from Fregellae (as well as from Cales) as one of the conditions of peace after their defeat at the Caudine Forks, see Livy 9.4.4 and F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, p. 31.

<sup>65</sup> Two different versions of the re-occupation/re-founding of the colony in 313 are reported by Livy 9.28.2-3 and by Diod. 19.101.3. F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, pp. 29-30, makes a convincing argument for preferring the less dramatic version of Livy. For the foundation of Interamna Lirenas, see Livy 9.28.8; Vell. 1.14.4; Diod., 19.105.5.

<sup>66</sup> Cales (334) and Luceria (314) both began with 2,500 colonists; Interamna Lirenas (312), Sora (303) and Carseoli (298) with 4,000; while Alba Fucens (303) was settled with 6,000 colonists. Given the strategic importance of the site of the colony at Fregellae, it would be surprising if the number of original colonists there was any less than the 4,000 of nearby Interamna Lirenas.



enough to allow Roman forces to position themselves for the defense of the capital.<sup>67</sup>

A handful of important pieces of literary evidence suggest that the central role played by Fregellae, to which we have already seen Strabo making reference, included a kind of political and military leadership among the Latin colonies of Italy. During and after the Hannibalic War, an élite corps of forty knights from Fregellae, the *turma Fregellana*, appears at least twice in action in situations close to Roman leaders, perhaps as a kind of special bodyguard: first with the consuls Marcellus and Crispinus near Venusia in 208 and later with Lucius Scipio, the son of Scipio Africanus, in Asia in 190.<sup>68</sup> In diplomatic matters, Fregellae seems also to have held a distinguished position as the political representative at Rome of some or all of the Latin colonies in Italy. In 209 BC, when twelve of the then thirty Latin colonies declared that they could no longer provide troops for the Roman war effort against Hannibal, it was a delegate from Fregellae, one Marcus Sextilius, who led the remaining eighteen colonies in pledging their full continued support and, if necessary, even an increased supply of manpower from their communities.<sup>69</sup> Again in 177 BC, when the Latin colonies all together complained to the Roman senate about the emigration of their citizens to Rome, their joint embassy appears to have been represented by a delegate from Fregellae, Lucius Papirius Fregellanus, whose rhetorical skill was exceptional enough to earn admiration from Cicero over a century later.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Livy 26.8ff.

<sup>68</sup> For the case of 208 BC: Livy 27.27; Plut., *Marc*, 29; for the case of 190 BC: Livy 37.34.5-6. Paradoxically, on both occasions on which the distinguished *turma Fregellana* is mentioned, it failed to protect the Roman leaders from death (in the case of Marcellus and Crispinus) and capture (in the case of Lucius Scipio).

<sup>69</sup> Livy 27.9.2ff.

<sup>70</sup> Cic., *Brut.* 170. The exact meaning of Cicero's description of the speech thought to have been delivered by L. Papirius as *pro Fregellanis colonisque Latinis* has been a point of some debate; see E. Malcovati, 'L. Papirius Fregellanus', *Ath.* n.s. 33 (1955) pp. 137-40; eadem, *ORF*<sup>3</sup> (Turin 1967) pp. 99-100; and E. Badian, 'L. Papirius Fregellanus', *CR* n.s. 5 (1955) pp. 22-3. Malcovati argues that the speech was on behalf of Fregellae and of the other Latin colonies in 177 BC. Badian, while agreeing that the speech mentioned by Cicero should be dated to the time of the Latin embassy to Rome in 177, argues instead that the speech was not on behalf of the colonies who had lost citizens to emigration, but on behalf of the colonists who had emigrated, i.e. in defense of their right to remain in their new places of residence. I prefer to follow F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae 1*, p. 35, and E. Rawson, 'Fregellae: fall and survival', in *Fregellae 1*, p. 71, in accepting the view of Malcovati, i.e. that Lucius Papirius was acting as the representative of the Latin colonies in delivering the speech admired by Cicero.

The advantages of Fregellae's well-connected location extended also into the economic sphere. The site of the colony was a central marketplace for the whole region of the Liris Valley, and must have been one of major importance, given that it continued to be used as such even after the city itself had been destroyed.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, its economic importance was not restricted to the surrounding areas in southern Latium. At least one wealthy *negotiator* from Fregellae appears in the epigraphic record from Delos as early as the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC: a decree issued by Télemnestos II, one of the better known Delian politicians of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, honours one Μάαρκος Σέστιος Μάάρκου Φρεγελλανός for his beneficence towards the people of Delos.<sup>72</sup>

In several ways, the archaeological remains so far uncovered on the site of Fregellae are consistent with and complementary to the hints in the literary evidence of the importance and prosperity of the colony, at least by the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Excavations at the site since the late 1970s have produced a considerable volume of new material, some of which is not easily interpreted; the vast majority of which, however, at least has the benefit for us of being securely dated before the destruction of the city by the Romans in 125. From that material, it is becoming possible to put together a picture of the development of the city across a few different phases of its history (Figures 5 and 6, pp. 86-7).

Perhaps the least clear of the phases at Fregellae is the earliest. Unlike the case of Minturnae, the layout of the original colonial foundation at Fregellae is not entirely clear. Though we should expect remains consistent with the existence of a settlement of around 4,000 colonists in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century, the remains that actually survive from that early phase provide little information as to the extent of the earliest fortifications, or as to which part of the plateau on which the site is located was occupied by the original settlement. The heart of the problem is the difficulty of the wall circuit. Though a few of the earlier scholars to have interested themselves in the site claimed to have seen stretches

---

<sup>71</sup> Strabo 5.3.10.

<sup>72</sup> *IG* XI 4, 757. E. Rawson, 'Fregellae: fall and survival', in *Fregellae I*, p. 73, identifies the beneficent M. Sestius as a *negotiator* from the upper class of Fregellae. Others, for reasons that I fail to understand, insist on his having served as one of the knights of the *turma Fregellana* under Scipio as the reason for his having been in the East in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century; see M.-F. Baslez and Cl. Vial, 'La diplomatie de Délos dans le premier tiers du II<sup>e</sup> siècle', *BCH* 111 (1987) pp. 297-8, and M.-F. Baslez, 'La première présence romaine à Délos', in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Meletemata* 21 (Athens 1996) p. 216. For Télemnestos II, see Cl. Vial, *Délos indépendante. BCH* suppl. 10 (1984) p. 99.



of walls of impressive scale (on the north side of the site), these stretches are not visible today, making it so far impossible to draw up a plan of the city walls. In the early stages of the more recent excavations at Fregellae, the discovery of a structure interpreted at the time as a part of the wall circuit offered some hope. Along the western side of the site, there was excavated a stretch of wall that had been built, or rebuilt or repaired, apparently in a hurry, towards the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC – the date having been established by the coin finds, all of which, with only one exception, are from the period of the Second Punic War.<sup>73</sup> This discovery, along with evidence from the surface survey of differing grid plans in different parts of the site led to the reasonable working hypothesis that the original colonial foundation of 328 (re-founded 313) had occupied the southwest area of the plateau on which the site is located, and that the urban centre of Fregellae had then expanded northwards to cover the rest of the plateau over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>74</sup>

As excavation of the site progressed, however, it became clear that several structures in the centre of the plateau – that is to say, in the area initially thought to correspond to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century expansion of the city – actually have phases dating back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, to the time of the colony's foundation.<sup>75</sup> Among the structures with late 4<sup>th</sup> century phases are the Curia (and so probably also the forum itself) and at least one of the houses in the residential quarter. The presence of these remains means that the original settlement was not limited only to the southwest area of the plateau, and means also that we unfortunately have little idea about the extent, on the ground, of the late 4<sup>th</sup> century phase of the urban centre of Fregellae.

What is more certain, however, is that the urban centre of the colony covered the entirety of the plateau on which it sits at least by the time of its destruction in 125 BC and, remembering the Hannibalic War date of at least one stretch of the walls, probably well before that time. Traces of walls, though not

---

<sup>73</sup> M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1984: An interim report on the work of the British team', *PBSR* 52 (1984) pp. 33-5.

<sup>74</sup> M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-84: An interim report on the work of the British team, Part II', *PBSR* 53 (1985) p. 85. In the southwest area of the plateau, there is a grid plan based on the *via Latina*. In the section of the city to the north, on the other hand, at least one road does not follow the grid based on the *via Latina*, suggesting that the plan here was later and had to accommodate pre-existing structures.

<sup>75</sup> F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, pp. 54-5.

datable, have been found at a few points around the perimeter. G. Colasanti, during his work on the site at the turn of the last century, saw a stretch of what he interpreted as the city's wall circuit at the northern extreme of the plateau; while more recently a bit of a large wall in *opus quadratum* was found at the south-east edge.<sup>76</sup> These notices are to be taken together with the results of the surface survey of the site, which found signs of habitation in all areas of the plateau.<sup>77</sup> By the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, then, the urban centre of the colony at Fregellae had come to occupy an area of around 100 hectares, making it a city of exceptional size when compared with other Roman settlements, and certainly of a size that must reflect a considerable amount of growth since its original settlement in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century with what had in all likelihood been between 4,000 and 6,000 colonists.<sup>78</sup>

From other areas of the site on which the recent excavations have concentrated, the archaeological record corresponding to the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century is again certainly consistent with a picture in which the colony of Fregellae had achieved a significant level of prosperity and importance by that time. Probably the most impressive in this regard is the extra-urban sanctuary of Aesculapius, situated on a spur of high ground that extends from the north-west side of the main plateau of the site.<sup>79</sup> The sanctuary complex was richly decorated and consisted of the temple itself, symmetrical porticoes flanking the temple on its two sides, and a monumental stair leading up to the sanctuary from the east side of the spur of high ground.<sup>80</sup> The complex, in the richly decorated form in which it existed at the time of its destruction along with the city in 125 BC, has been dated stratigraphically and stylistically to the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. For this relatively early period, then, the sanctuary complex at Fregellae must have been 'one of the most spectacular in central Italy outside

---

<sup>76</sup> G. Colasanti, *Fregellae. Storia e topografia* (Rome 1906) p. 101; F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, p. 54. See also M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-84, Part II', (above n. 74) p. 96.

<sup>77</sup> M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-84, Part II', (above n. 74) pp. 72-96.

<sup>78</sup> See F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, p. 53.

<sup>79</sup> Some of the earliest of the recent excavations were of this sanctuary. The results were published in F. Coarelli (ed.), *Fregellae 2. Il santuario di Esculapio* (Rome 1986). A few small additions are made by F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, p. 62.

<sup>80</sup> M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1984', (above n. 73) pp. 24-32. See also F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, p. 62, for the suggestion that the natural slope of the spur leading up to the temple itself might have been used as a theatrical cavea, with wooden seating structures added on the occasions of *ludi*.



Rome'.<sup>81</sup> The community that was able to build and decorate such a complex, or at least that was able to support individuals wealthy enough to undertake such a project (if the sanctuary was paid for privately), must have been enjoying a considerably high level of local prosperity at the time.

Several of the contemporary structures excavated within the urban centre suggest further that there was also a significant amount of building going on in the city centre in these early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, building that is also in some cases on a scale and of a richness that reflects the development of Fregellae from its early colonial phase into a phase of much greater importance by the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. A new bath complex, not enormous, but with at least some quality interior decoration, was constructed at this time just to the northeast of the forum, over a structure of an earlier phase.<sup>82</sup> Near this bath complex, in the residential quarter around the northeast corner of the forum, a group of private houses also reveals a new phase of building in the years immediately after the Second Punic War.<sup>83</sup> A complex of seven impressive atrium-type aristocratic houses has been excavated here, each of the seven revealing an early 2<sup>nd</sup> century phase of re-working.

For the purposes of the present work, it is from these seven houses that comes what is perhaps the most interesting feature of the archaeology of the site of Fregellae. The remains of the houses reveal two distinct phases within the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, reflecting a radical transformation of the houses that has been interpreted in close connection with the passage of Livy, mentioned above, in which the delegates from the Samnites and Paelignians complain to the Roman senate that some 4,000 families from their territory had migrated to Fregellae in the years before 177 BC.<sup>84</sup> In their early 2<sup>nd</sup> century phase, the houses seem to be the residences of the city's prosperous ruling class. They are all large, centrally located, well-built atrium houses with rich decoration – mosaic floors,

---

<sup>81</sup> M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1984', (above n. 73) p. 25.

<sup>82</sup> The full publication of the bath complex of Fregellae, which promises to constitute the volume *Fregellae 4*, is still in preparation as of 2001. A brief summary of the excavation of the complex to the northeast of the forum is given by F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, pp. 60-1.

<sup>83</sup> The full publication of the houses of Fregellae, which promises to constitute the volume *Fregellae 5*, is still in preparation as of 2001. The results of the excavation up to 1989 are presented and discussed at length by F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', (above n. 44) pp. 177-85. See also the most recent brief summary in F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, pp. 63-5.

First Style wall-painting and architectural terracottas – and in many cases with *vestibula* for the clients of the owner.

In the subsequent phase, all seven houses, without exception, were converted into industrial workshops. In some places, walls were removed to make larger rooms. Within these larger spaces, complex systems of conduits and tubs were installed for the transportation and storage of water. Comparison of the resulting layouts with industrial buildings excavated at Pompeii, along with the apparent importance of water to the function of the houses in this later phase, has led to the identification of the converted forms of the seven houses as *fullonicae*, workshops for the fulling of textiles. This radical transformation of at least one sector of the urban centre can be dated to the middle decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century; that is to say, after the original phase of the houses and before the destruction of the colony in 125 BC.

It is to be emphasized just how radical the conversion of this sector of the urban centre was. Within what seems to have been a decade or two, at least one cluster of the large, wealthy homes of the Fregellan élite was transformed into a group of complex textile workshops. Filippo Coarelli has interpreted this transformation as a more or less direct consequence of the dual migratory phenomenon recorded by Livy for 177 BC: the emigration of a significant number of Latins from Fregellae to Rome, as part of the more general trend of migration from the Latin colonies into the city of Rome, and the simultaneous immigration of an enormous number of Samnites and Paelignians to the colony at Fregellae.<sup>85</sup> The apparent contemporaneity of the archaeological evidence with Livy's account of migration from the Appennine highlands is at least enough to suggest that the conversion of the seven houses into *fullonicae* somehow reflects the addition of the 4,000 immigrant families to the community of Fregellae.

The exact nature of the probable connection between the arrival of the immigrants and the conversion of the houses is unclear. The archaeological evidence shows only, but importantly, that there are no signs of violence connected with the transformation of the houses. The alternatives are either the sale or renting of the properties, or perhaps in some cases, the direct management

---

<sup>84</sup> Livy 41.8.8.



of the new installation by the original owner.<sup>86</sup> For Coarelli, the most plausible answer lies in the relationships that would, by the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, have developed between the aristocracy of Fregellae and that of the Samnites and Paelignians in the Appennine highlands as a result of the stock breeding transhumance economy of the latter and the economic centrality of the marketplace community of the former.<sup>87</sup> Since the transhumance economy relied on the movement of sheep from mountain pasturage in the Appennines to the plains pasturage of areas like the Liris Valley and parts of coastal Latium, early links between the inhabitants of Latin colonies and those engaged in transhumance were inevitable. Coarelli's hypothesis is that when, in the period just after the 2<sup>nd</sup> Punic War, the large private stock-breeding farm became a major part of the Italian economy, the economic relationships that were already in place between the local aristocracy and the stock-breeders led to the cooperative transformation of at least this one urban residential district at Fregellae into a centre for the manufacture of wool products.

It is impossible to prove that the immigrants from among the peoples of the Appennine highlands, those people who have traditionally been viewed as sheep-breeders, were the agents of the conversion of these houses into buildings related to the wool trade. It is possible that the local aristocrats themselves brought about the conversion of their fine urban houses, and did so to process wool from their own estates in the *ager Fregellanus*. In this case, the importance of the Samnite and Paelignian immigrants would be simply that they increased the local demand for wool products, and might thus have indirectly contributed to the processes that resulted in the conversion of the houses. With the information we have at the moment, it is impossible to know for sure. At the very least, however, the conversion of the seven urban houses into *fullonicae* does show that the processing of wool was a major industry at Fregellae, and that that particular form of economic activity in the city underwent a rapid and radical development of some kind in the middle decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Though I doubt the likelihood of an oversimplified picture in which the Latin colonist owners of the houses in question had moved out to Rome and had been

---

<sup>85</sup> Livy 41.8.6-12; F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', (above n. 44) p. 181.

<sup>86</sup> F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', (above n. 44) p. 182.

<sup>87</sup> F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', (above n. 44) p. 183. The view is developed further in F.

replaced in their Fregellan homes by sheep-rearing Samnites and Paelignians who immediately converted the houses into fulling workshops, it is equally difficult to believe that there is no connection whatsoever between, on the one hand, all the building activity and house conversions represented in the archaeological record of the site in the early and middle decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and, on the other, the arrival in those same decades of many thousands of immigrants to the colony from the surrounding areas.

### *Conclusion*

The above considerations have concentrated on the two sites of Minturnae and Fregellae, for both of which the surviving evidence, though not extensive, is considerably less pathetic than it is for most of the other sites in southern Latium. What is clear is from that evidence is that any explanation of the development of these two communities must include the phenomenon of immigration on a considerable scale and the accompanying transformation of which that phenomenon was a part.

One way of thinking about the evidence of migration from Minturnae and Fregellae is in terms of the impact of Roman colonization.<sup>88</sup> It is the very nature of colonial settlements that they are at the time of their foundations new features of the landscape. To a certain extent, then, immigration to these two colonial communities can be seen as a demographic response (though not immediate) to the introduction of these new features. At the same time, however, it cannot be said that all of Rome's colonial foundations had a similar effect in terms of migration. Roman expansion into the region of southern Latium must be understood in the context of the long term hostility between the Romans and the Samnites. The sites chosen for colonial foundations in the area were chosen for strategic reasons – Minturnae as a guardpost at the point where the *via Appia* crossed the Liris; Fregellae on a plateau dominating the crossroads of two important lines of communication. By the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, however, when the stability of Roman control in the area had made strategic and defense concerns less relevant (except, of course, during the years of Hannibal's presence

---

Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae I*, pp. 35-41.

<sup>88</sup> See E. Curti et al., 'The archaeology of central and southern Italy: recent trends and approaches', *JRS* 86 (1996) esp. pp. 173-5, for a survey of other fairly recent work approaching



in Italy), the economic characteristics of the different colonial settlements became more important. Some of the colonies, like both Minturnae and Fregellae, enjoyed not only strategically important locations, but also many economically advantageous characteristics: excellent territories and diverse opportunities for productive and commercial activity. Sites such as these, as we have seen, attracted immigrants and developed into major centres of prosperity. Other colonial sites, however, had much less to offer beyond their strategic qualities – so, for example, the Latin colony at Interamna Lirenas with its second-rate territory shows signs of decline already in the late Republic. It was not enough just to be a colony. Our picture would obviously be much fuller if we knew more about some of the allied communities in the region, like Aquinum and Casinum, both of which, as we have seen, were noted by Strabo for their regional importance.

Another way of understanding the evidence of migration, instead of focusing on the impact of colonies as completely new features of the landscape, is to consider the phenomenon in the context of other more general developments that affected central Italy over the course of the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. It was, after all, during this period that the stretch of territory including southern Latium and Campania, which had come within the Roman sphere of control a century earlier, appeared to be moving more and more towards unity with a large central Italian block of Roman territory. A few references from the early decades of the century record the removal of some of the traditional institutional and juridical barriers to unity in this region and are perhaps to be interpreted as a reflection on an official level of what was fast becoming a reality on the ground. For example, the senate in 189 decided that the Campanians should be registered in the census at Rome, and in the following year granted them the *ius conubii* with Roman citizens.<sup>89</sup> Also in 188 BC, the *municipia* of Formiae, Fundi, and Arpinum, which had had only the *civitas sine suffragio* since the later 4<sup>th</sup> century, were granted the vote and so were upgraded to the status of full Roman citizenship.<sup>90</sup> And it was in 180 that the city of Cumae symbolically asked and

---

from this angle.

<sup>89</sup> Livy 38.28.4; 38.36.5-6.

<sup>90</sup> Livy 38.36.7-9. Formiae and Fundi had had the *civitas sine suffragio* since the settlement following the Latin war in 338 (Livy 8.14.10), Arpinum since its capture by Rome in 305-303 (Livy 9.44.16; 10.1.3).

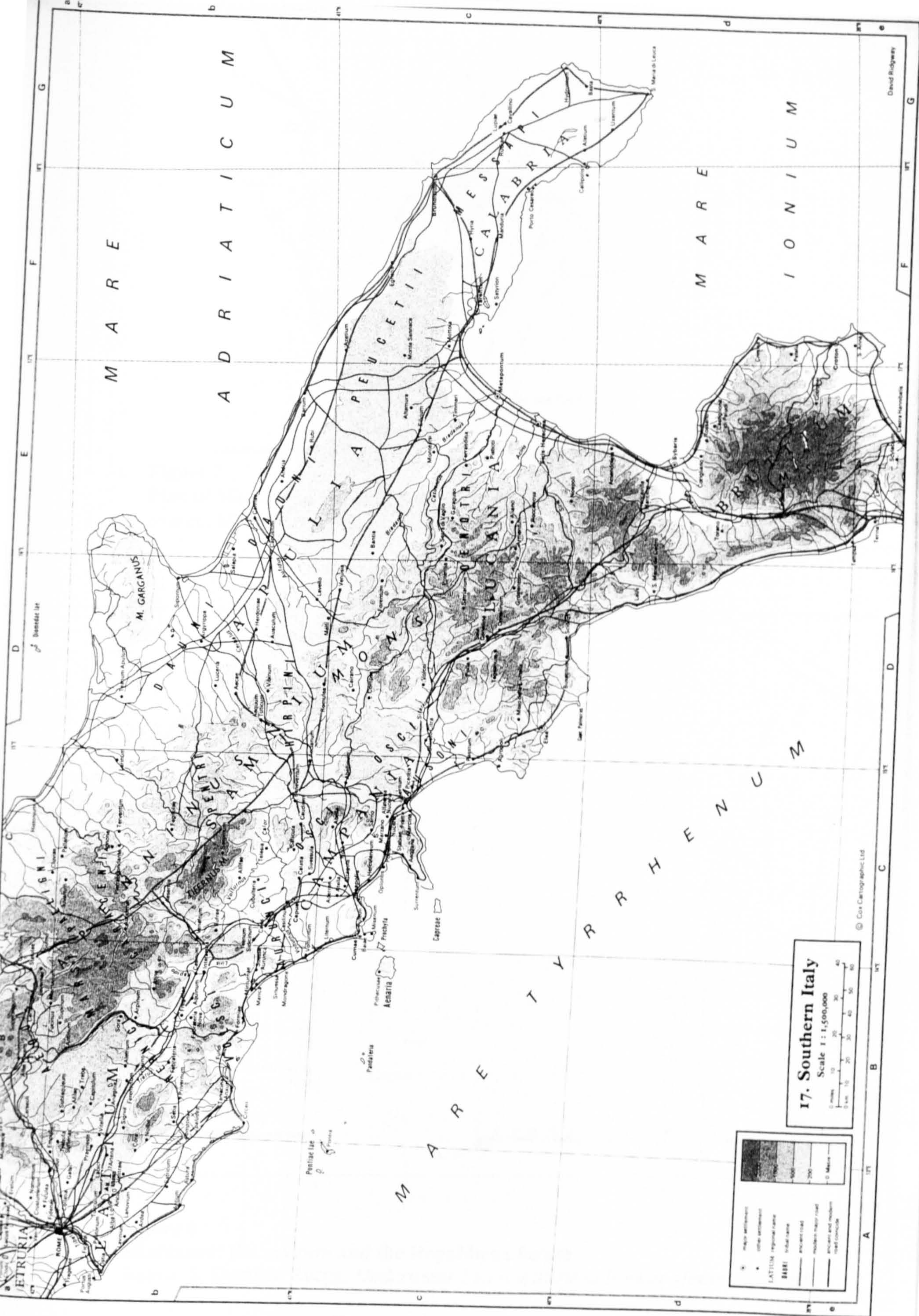
was granted permission to use the Latin language in the public sphere.<sup>91</sup> The signs of openness for the communities of this stretch of territory, both with respect to Rome and with respect to each other, appear to have been increasing in this period.

A picture of migration in this region in this period must incorporate both of these developments: the appearance of completely new features (the colonies) on the one hand, and the disappearance of some of the old, traditionally divisive features, on the other. Add to this mix the relative stability in the region in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the impact of subsequent economic developments, and the resulting picture is one that must include a high level of individual geographical mobility as a central feature.

---

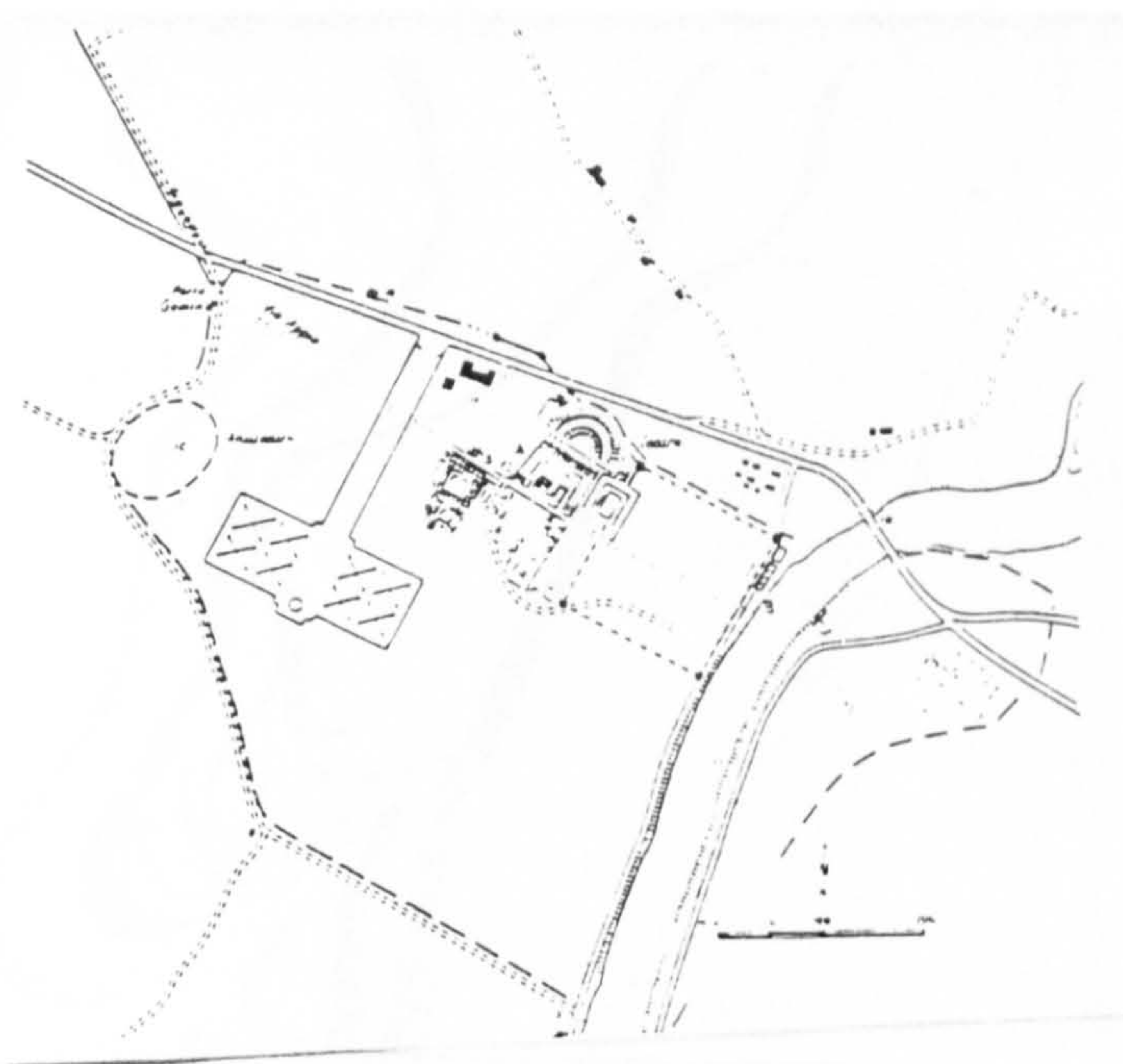
<sup>91</sup> Livy 40.42.13.



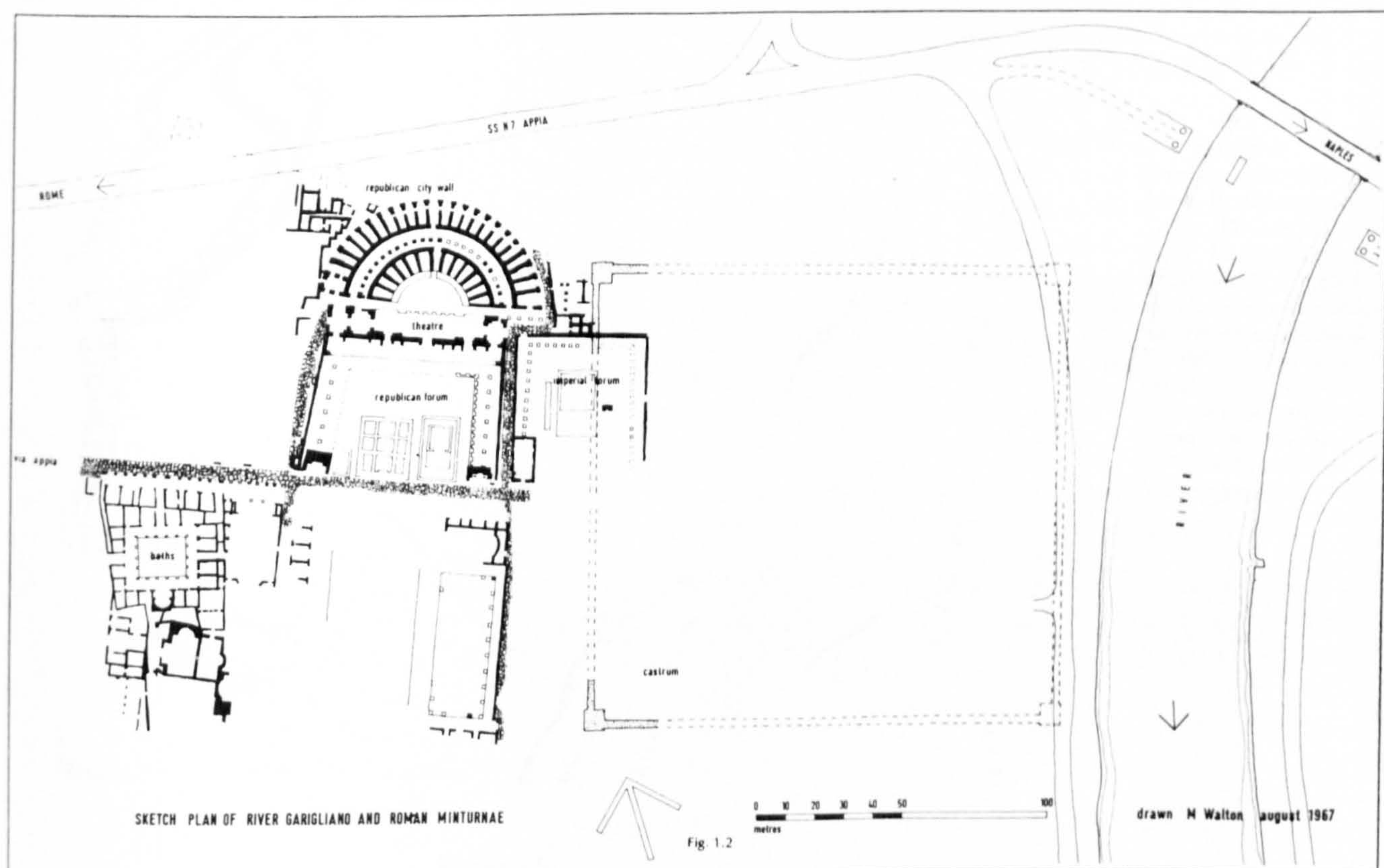


**Map 1**  
**Southern Italy including southern Latium**  
 Source: N.G.L. Hammond, *Atlas of the Classical World*





**Figure 3**  
**Plan of Minturnae showing *castrum* of 296 and expansion to west**  
*Source: M.P. Guidobaldi, DdArch (1988)*



**Figure 4**  
**Minturnae: the *castrum* and the Republican forum**  
*Source: S. Dominic Ruegg, Underwater Investigations at Roman Minturnae (1995)*

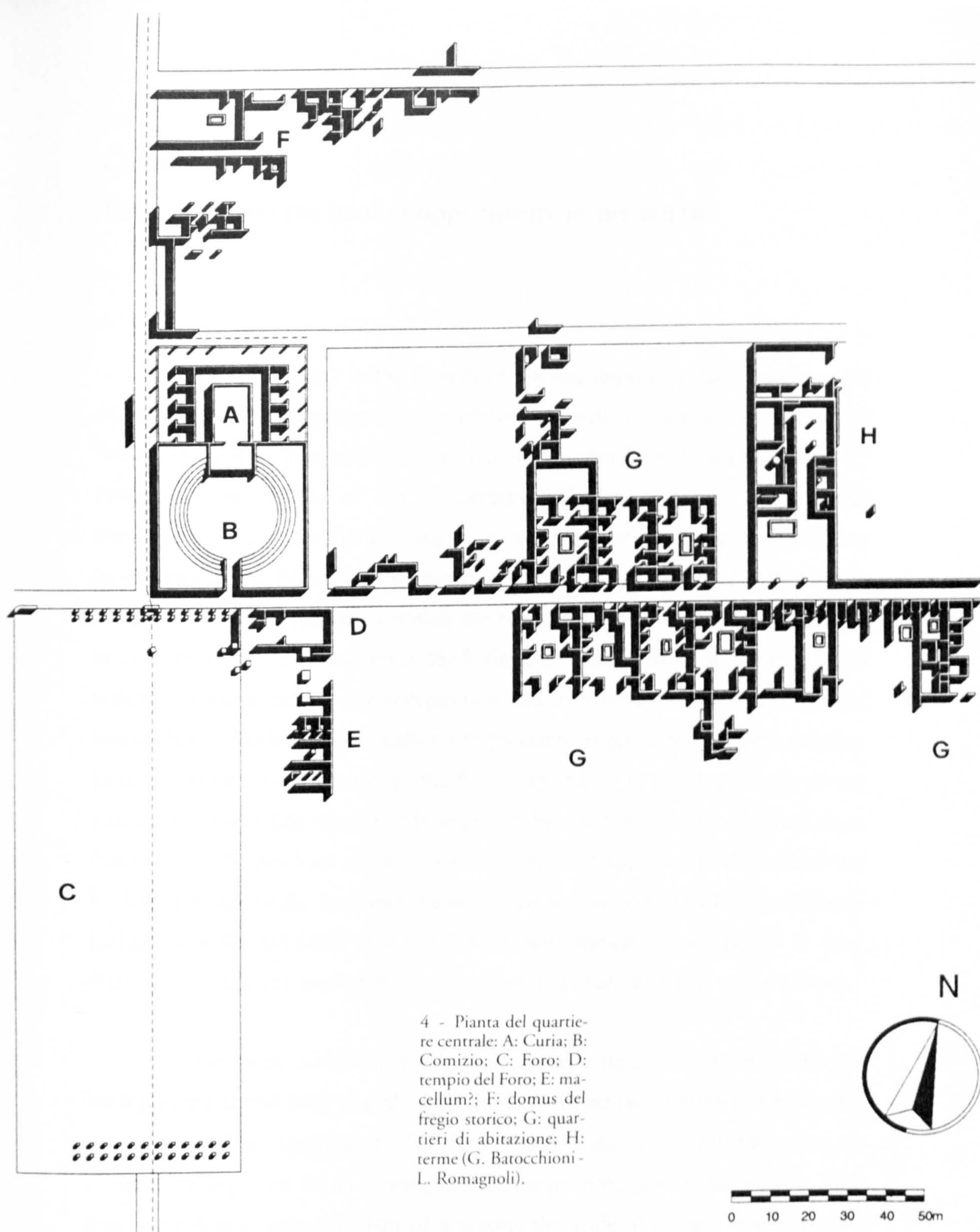




2 - Fregellae. Pianta generale della città: A: Foro; B: Comizio; C: Curia; D: tempio del Foro; E: santuario di Esculapio; F: acquedotto; G: quartieri di abitazione; H: santuario di Ercole?; I: cisterna imperiale; L: probabile santuario; M: santuario extraurbano; N: macellum? (G. Batocchioni - L. Romagnoli).

**Figure 5**  
**Fregellae: general plan of the city**  
*Source: Fregellae I*





**Figure 6**  
**Fregellae: plan of the central quarter**  
*Source: Fregellae 1*



## Chapter 4

### The Po Valley: the land of opportunity to the north<sup>1</sup>

The north of Italy in the Republican period appears to have been an area of particularly intense geographical mobility. As with the rest of Italy, the period following the Roman conquest of the area, in this case from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, was a period of profound transformation that saw the opening up of various new economic opportunities. In the case of the Po Valley, the transformation was accompanied both by high levels of individual migration within the region and by a significant volume of in-migration from other regions of the Italian peninsula, both of which trends had serious consequences for the composition and distribution of the population of Roman Italy. Outlining these patterns as precisely as possible and understanding their importance to the history of the Po Valley region in the Republican period will be the aim of this chapter. My approach here will be slightly different from that taken in the previous chapter. The difference of approach in the case of the Po Valley is due to the facts that the area itself was very different from southern Latium, that the available evidence for its development in our period is very different, and that the modern historiography on the region is also very different.

Of the many historical problems that come up in the study of the Po Valley in the Republican period, there are two whose solution must include an appreciation of the significance of internal migration and which will thus serve as a useful starting point for an investigation of the phenomenon in that region. The first is the demographic problem of assessing the scale of change in the size of the population between the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – early 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the age of Augustus. When the Romans began military operations in the north in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, they were fighting against Gallic tribes characterized by dispersed settlement. There

---

<sup>1</sup> An earlier version of this chapter appeared as 'Migration and transformation in north Italy in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC', *BICS* 44 (2000) pp. 145-66.

was little in the way of urbanization in the areas outside the territory of the friendly Veneti. Figures in Polybius have been used to estimate the population of the north at that time as between 300,000 and 450,000 adult males or about 1 ½ million inhabitants all together.<sup>2</sup> The Roman conquest of the region, especially in the devastating campaigns of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, saw the annihilation or deportation of large segments of this original Gallic population. Some of these losses in population were obviously recouped by the arrival of colonists from central Italy, but not entirely. So, for the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, there seems to be agreement that the total population of Cisalpine Gaul was still around 1 ½ million.

By the age of Augustus, Strabo could describe the region as full of flourishing and populous cities, not only in the areas that had been colonized by the Romans, but also in those that had not (Map 2, p. 121).<sup>3</sup> The qualitative nature of Strabo's remarks leaves room for debate, however, with the result that the question of what happened to the population between the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century and the age of Augustus has provoked much disagreement. On the one side Beloch and Brunt hold that the number of inhabitants had not grown terribly much, while on the other the likes of Nissen and Frank, and more recently Bandelli, have argued that the population of the north did increase significantly, to a number several times the estimate of Beloch and Brunt. So, to put it simply, was the population of the region of the Po Valley at the end of the Republic closer to 2 million or closer to 7 million?

The second problem is one of cultural development in the north, and more particularly, the problem of the early and rapid Romanization of the non-colonial areas, most notably in the Transpadana. Without going too far into the admittedly problematic concept of Romanization, it should be enough here to point to the presence of a Latin élite in very Roman-looking urban centres, producing some of the finest examples of Hellenized Latin literature, i.e. the

---

<sup>2</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 166ff. argues for 300,000 adult males; G. Bandelli, 'La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale', in *Demografia*, p. 204 for a figure closer to 450,000.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo 5.1.6ff.; 5.1.12. Thriving colonial cities include, for example, Bononia and Aquileia. Estimates of the large population of the latter by the time of Augustus have ranged from the high figure of 100,000 to the ridiculous figure of 800,000; see A. Calderini, *Aquileia romana* (Milan 1930) pp. 335-8. As for non-colonial cities, Strabo notes the large size of Milan, Verona and especially Patavium.



cultural context that produced a Catullus from Verona and a Virgil from Mantua. The process of indirect and partly spontaneous Romanization that created such a context in those areas of the north where there was no official Roman settlement has been described as *Selbstromanisierung* or as *la romanità di non Romani*, the adoption of Roman models by the Gallic and Venetic peoples of the region.<sup>4</sup> Through what channels this adoption came about and how it came to have such a profound impact so rapidly are essential parts of the history of Republican Cisalpina.

Neither of these problems can be fully explained by the arrival of settlers as part of the Roman state's official programmes of colonization and viri-tane settlement. While it is true that the size of the population at the end of the Republic is to be explained partly by the many thousands of Romans and Italians from central and southern Italy settled in the north by these programmes, the same cannot be said for the large populations and early Romanization of communities in non-colonial areas. The explanation in these cases must include the phenomenon of intense geographical mobility, i.e. the movement of people, independently of the Roman state, from central and southern Italy into Cisalpine Gaul and also movement within the region itself between communities of different status.<sup>5</sup>

### *Background*

Migration was an important factor in the history of the Po Valley from very early on. Even before the arrival of the Romans, the region had been the destination of several migratory trends.<sup>6</sup> The first that we hear of is the expansion of Etruscans and Umbrians from central Italy across the Appennines

---

<sup>4</sup> The concept originates with F. Vittinghoff's *intervento* in G.A. Mansuelli, 'La romanizzazione dell'Italia settentrionale', *Atti, Ce.SDIR* 3 (1970-71) p. 33. See also the further elaborations by R. Rossi, 'La romanizzazione dell'Italia settentrionale', *AAAd* 4 (1973) pp. 35-55 and F. Càssola, 'La colonizzazione romana della Transpadana', in *Die Stadt*, pp. 17-44. For the artistic evidence of early Romanization/Hellenization in the Transpadana, see the two works by M. Denti, *I Romani a nord del Po* (Milan 1991) and *Ellenismo e romanizzazione nella X regio: La scultura delle élites locali dall'età repubblicana ai Giulio-Claudi* (Rome 1991).

<sup>5</sup> E. Gabba, 'La conquista della Gallia Cisalpina', in *Storia di Roma*, 2.1 (Turin 1990) pp. 69-77, and G. Bandelli, 'La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale', (above n. 2) pp. 189-215, acknowledge the probability of a significant level of individual migration, without going into any further detail.

<sup>6</sup> Polyb. 2.17.1-7.

into the central and eastern Cispadana. They in turn were pushed back from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century by Gallic tribes from beyond the Alps, who came to inhabit all of the Cisalpine region except for the territory of the Veneti in the far north-east. With the arrival of the Romans in the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, there was again a major transformation in the composition and distribution of the population of the Po Valley, with a flood of people from central and southern Italy coming to settle in the north.

Over the course of a little more than two centuries between the Battle of Sentinum in 295 BC and the veteran colonies of the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the population of Cisalpina underwent radical changes of several different kinds. A series of defeats during the long wars against Rome significantly reduced the size of the Gallic population. Of those Gauls who managed to survive such defeats, large groups were forcibly deported from their communities of origin, some to other parts of Cisalpine Gaul and others to faraway regions in the south of Italy. At the same time, the population of the north was greatly augmented by the arrival of many thousands of Romans and Italians from south of the Appennines organized by the Roman state's programmes of settlement, both in colonial foundations and through the *viridane* distribution of land. These major changes came as a direct result of Rome's official operations in the north. But it was the demographic changes brought about as a result of large-scale individual migration that assured that the population of the entire region by the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC was both quantitatively and qualitatively very different from what it had been when the Romans began their serious efforts against the Gauls of the Cisalpine region in the earlier 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Any attempt to argue for high levels of individual migration into and within the Po Valley must contend first of all with Peter Brunt's negative conclusions on the subject in two important chapters in *Italian Manpower*, the one containing his general considerations on migration and the other on the particular case of Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>7</sup> His general argument runs as follows. Having assessed the economic geography of the Po Valley in the later Republic, he concludes that it was *not* as attractive as has often been thought. He also suggests that those economic opportunities that did exist in the north would have

---

<sup>7</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, pp. 159ff.



been largely unknown to the majority of potential migrants in central and southern Italy, as there were only limited channels of information through which such opportunities could have become known. Even if there was a small amount of immigration to the north, he adds, it must have been restricted to a limited number of wealthy individuals, as the obstacles involved would have been too great for anyone else; in other words, a substantial amount of capital would have been required for an individual to set himself up on a new plot of land, which in many areas of the north would have required considerable reclamation efforts before it could have been of any use.

In the first half of the present chapter, I will argue that each of Brunt's points can and should be challenged, and that a circumstantial argument in favour of high levels of mobility is more in line with the evidence, literary and material, from the north. This more favourable argument is based on a more positive assessment of the economic geography of the Po Valley and of the economic opportunities that existed there or that came to exist there over the course of its transformation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. Such an assessment will show that opportunities in the north were many and various. Other evidence will then be adduced to show that the channels of information were such that the existence of economic opportunities in the north would have been known by a wide range of the Roman and non-Roman inhabitants of peninsular Italy. Having thus established the likelihood of population movement into and within region of the Po Valley, in the second half of the chapter, I will outline those patterns that emerge from the more direct evidence for the phenomenon of migration.

### *The economic geography of the Po Valley*

There is universal agreement among the literary sources that the territory in and around the Po Valley contained some of the most productive land in Italy.<sup>8</sup> In one of his fragmentary references to the north, Cato remarks on the great quantity of wine that could be produced per *iugerum* in the *ager Gallicus*

---

<sup>8</sup> For the economic geography of Cisalpine Gaul, I rely heavily on the account given by P. Brunt, *IM*, pp. 172-84, though I follow P. Garnsey, 'Economy and society of Mediolanum under the Principate', *PBSR* 44 (1976) pp. 13-18 in disagreeing with many of Brunt's conclusions.

between Picenum and Ariminum.<sup>9</sup> In our earliest full account, Polybius, who claims to have travelled through the region himself, emphasises the fertility of the Po Valley, calling it the most fertile and the largest plain known in all of Europe.<sup>10</sup> He adds that the plain produces such an abundance of wheat, barley and wine that the prices for these goods are strikingly low. He also mentions the abundance of panic and millet grown in the valley plain. As a final indicator of the abundance and cheapness of foodstuffs, Polybius adds that travellers will be impressed by the low cost of the inns in the region. Strabo's account is also generally very positive. He describes the plain as 'exceedingly well-off and varied by fruitful hills'.<sup>11</sup> Pliny too, though for the most part more concerned with cities and peoples, does note the fertility of the region, noting in particular how silt deposited by the Po River provides the areas along the its banks with exceptionally rich soil.<sup>12</sup>

It must be kept in mind, however, that not all of the region between the ranges of the Appennines and the Alps was easily cultivable plain. For example, the upper foothill zones of the two mountain ranges would not have been much use agriculturally. Many areas along the lower foothills and in parts of the rest of the plain would also have been covered by woods. In addition to these partial limitations, one of the area's greatest assets – the abundance of water available in the Po and its tributaries – might also have been one of the greatest hindrances to its cultivability. Strabo in several places mentions the marshes and lagoons of the Po Valley, especially in the territory of the Veneti and in the eastern Cispadana.<sup>13</sup> Brunt makes much of Strabo's to marshland, as had Beloch, and suggests that a significant portion of the territory of the Po Valley consisted of such marshland and was probably not adequately drained until the Renaissance.<sup>14</sup> The one draining effort that we know to have been carried out during the Republican period, the one organized by M. Aemilius Scaurus in the Cispadane

---

<sup>9</sup> Varro, *RR*, 1.2.7 = *Origines*, fr. 43 Peter, 2.14 Chassignet: *In eo agro aliquotfarum in singula iugera dena cullea vini fiunt.*

<sup>10</sup> Polyb. 2.14-16.

<sup>11</sup> Strabo 5.1.4.

<sup>12</sup> Pliny, *NH*, 3.16.118. Elsewhere (3.5.49), Pliny makes it clear that the cities of the region were, at least by the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, very prosperous: *ab altero eius latere ad Padum amnem Italiae ditissimum omnia nobilibus oppidis nitent, Libarna, Dertona colonia, Iria, Vardacate, Industria, Pollentia, Correa quod Potentia cognominatur, Foro Fulvi quod Valentinum, Augusta Bagiennorum, Alba Pompeia, Hasta, Aquis Statiellorum.*

<sup>13</sup> Strabo 5.1.5; 5.1.7f; 5.1.11.



plains either in 115 or in 109 BC, Brunt belittles by associating it with a limited area around the colony of Parma and by suggesting that 'Scaurus' primary purpose was to facilitate the movement of military supplies' along the navigable canals by which the area was drained into the Po River.

There are two important points, however, that suggest these marshes, even if they did originally cover a significant part of the eastern Po Valley, were not a major deterrent to agricultural productivity in the Republican period. The first comes from a simple reference in Strabo's account of the region in which, after describing the marshes around Ravenna, he adds that the vine actually grows well in such wet conditions, yielding fruit quickly and in large quantities.<sup>15</sup> Likewise in his description of other regions of Italy, Strabo more than once notes not the difficulties but the *advantages* of marshland for viticulture.<sup>16</sup> The second is that there seems to have been more drainage and reclamation during the Republican period than Beloch and Brunt thought. At Aquileia, for example, there is recently discovered evidence of reclamation by means of amphorae used under the foundations of streets and private and public buildings in and around the city.<sup>17</sup> It has also been suggested that the Canale Anfora running south-west from the city towards the sea – a clearly man-made canal, for drainage as well as navigation, that happens to be on the same orientation as the centuriation of the territory – dates to the early period of the colony.<sup>18</sup> Strazzulla has also suggested that the colony at Aquileia began its rise to prosperity (after the *supplementum* of 169 BC) at least partly as a result of efforts to improve the local habitat.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, one of the triumvirs for the *supplementum* of 169, M. Cornelius Cethegus, was in 160 given the task of draining and allotting the Pontine Plain in Latium. Strazzulla plausibly sees a link between Cethegus' having been chosen

---

<sup>14</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, pp. 175-6.

<sup>15</sup> Strabo 5.1.7. He adds that, despite growing fast and producing much, the vine here tends to die within four or five years. If, however, replacement vines will again yield fruit quickly, this characteristic of marsh viticulture would not greatly diminish the productivity of the region.

<sup>16</sup> Of the Caecuban plain, Strabo says that although it is marshy, it 'supports a vine that produces the best of wine, I mean the tree-vine' (5.3.5). Elsewhere, Strabo describes the rising and lowering of the level of the Fucine Lake, noting that the marshy land exposed when the lake is at its lower level is productively tilled (5.3.13).

<sup>17</sup> F. Maselli Scotti, 'Aquileia e il suo territorio agli albori del II secolo a.C.', in *Optima via*, p. 465.

<sup>18</sup> M. Strazzulla, 'In paludibus moenia constituta: problemi urbanistici di Aquileia in età repubblicana alla luce della documentazione archeologica e delle fonti scritte', *AAAd* 35 (1989) p. 216f.; though a Caesarian date is proposed by L. Bertacchi, 'Il sistema portuale della metropoli aquileiese', *AAAd* 36 (1990) pp. 227-53.

as one of the triumvirs for the *supplementum* to marshy Aquileia in 169 and his having been chosen nine years later for the reclamation of the Pontine marshes in 160. This activity, combined with a less cynical interpretation of M. Aemilius Scaurus' reclamation project in the Cispadane plain in 115 or 109, suggests a picture of much more extensive works of reclamation in the Po Valley in the mid- and later 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>20</sup> Even Bandelli, who emphasizes the slowness and difficulty of land drainage and reclamation, agrees that the territory of Aquileia would have been radically transformed within one or two generations of the original foundation in 181.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to its agricultural fertility, the Po Valley was also known from very early on for its pork, wool and mineral resources. According to Cato, the Gauls of northern Italy raised pigs so large that they could only be moved if they were put on a wagon; and from these sizeable swine, Cato adds, the Gauls exported three or four thousand legs of pork each year.<sup>22</sup> Polybius connects the same abundance of pigs in the north with the great quantities of acorns that were grown in the woods dispersed over the plain and notes further, interestingly, that almost all of the pork consumed in the rest of Italy, both privately and by the army, came from the Po Valley.<sup>23</sup> Alongside pork, wool was also an important product of Cisalpine Gaul. In his summary of the excellence of the region, Strabo provides a list of the different wool-producing areas of the north.<sup>24</sup> The area around Mutina produced a fine, soft wool; Liguria and the territory of the *Symbri* (possibly the Insubres) produced coarse wool; and the regions around Patavium produced the medium wool from which the most expensive objects were made.<sup>25</sup> As for the region's several mines, Strabo notes that they had been

---

<sup>19</sup> M. Strazzulla, '*In paludibus moenia constituta*', (above n. 18) p. 216-7.

<sup>20</sup> Earlier still, before the official arrival of the Romans to the region, the Etruscans who had settled in the Po Valley had engaged in projects of intervention on the land in an attempt to control the abundance of water in some areas. Pliny, *NH*, 3.16.120, tells of the canal first made by the Etruscans from the Sagis River to the harbour of Adria.

<sup>21</sup> G. Bandelli, *Ricerche*, p. 53.

<sup>22</sup> Varro, *RR* 2.4.11 = *Origines* fr. 39 Peter, 2.9 Chassignet. See Chassignet *ad loc* for a complete commentary on the various emendations that have been proposed for this passage, many of which replace *in scrobes* with *Insubres*, thereby locating more precisely the source of the Gallic bacon. See also T. Cornell, *JRS* (1988) pp. 211-2.

<sup>23</sup> Polyb. 15.2-3.

<sup>24</sup> Strabo 5.1.12.

<sup>25</sup> When Strabo describes the coarse wool from Liguria and the Insubrian territory as 'that from which the greater part of the households of the Italiotes are clothed,' I do not believe he is claiming that the majority of Italians wore wool imported from western Cisalpina. Rather, he is explaining to his readers that the coarse wool produced in that region is *like* the coarse wool used



worked heavily in the Republican period, but that by his time they had become less important in comparison to the mines then under the control of the Romans in the provinces of Gaul and Spain.<sup>26</sup> The north-west stretch of the Alps, the area corresponding to modern Piemonte and the Valle d'Aosta, was especially well-endowed with mineral resources. Gold, silver and iron were mined in the upper reaches of the Valle d'Aosta.<sup>27</sup> The iron- and copper-rich Val Soana about 30 km north of Turin seems also to have been worked in the Republican period.<sup>28</sup> Just below the Alps, in eastern Piemonte, there was another gold mine located somewhere between the towns of Eporedia and Vercellae.<sup>29</sup> To the east of the region, in the stretch of the Alps above Aquileia, there was the highly productive gold-mine in the territory of the Norican Taurisci, which in Polybius' time was worked by both the Taurisci and, for a time at least, Italian miners.<sup>30</sup> Between the two extremes of the Alps, the central subalpine area north of Bergamum and Brixia seems also to have been rich in iron and copper.<sup>31</sup> Given the relative poverty of the rest of the Italian peninsula when it comes to mineral resources, the many active mines around the Po Valley would have added significantly to the natural attractiveness of that region in the later Republic.

Any attempt to assess of the quality of the territory of the Po Valley in antiquity must obviously be aware of the negative aspects of the region. Much of the area was mountain upland or was heavily wooded. Large stretches, especially in the east, were marshland; and though there was some extensive land reclamation already in the Republican period, it is true that ancient land reclamation was not as comprehensive as later drainage works have been. Nonetheless, the likes of Beloch and Brunt are too negative in their assessments

---

for clothing in the rest of Italy; *contra* P. Garnsey, 'Economy and society of Mediolanum under the Principate', (above n. 8) p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Strabo 5.1.12.

<sup>27</sup> G.E.F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul* (Oxford 1941), p. 167ff.

<sup>28</sup> See G. Cresci Marrone and E. Culasso Gastaldi, 'La documentazione', in *Per pagos vicosque: Torino romana fra Orco e Stura* (Padova 1988) pp. 54ff., for a series of funerary inscriptions from Valperga at the base of the Val Soana, a community which appears to have grown up as a centre for those working the mines in the valley upriver.

<sup>29</sup> The exact location of this mine is difficult to place. Strabo (5.1.12) puts it at Vercellae near Victumulae. Pliny (*NH*, 33.78) puts it at Victumulae, whose location is uncertain. G.E.F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul* (above n. 27) p. 168f. suggests that Victumulae, and the gold mine itself, must have been somewhere near Biella.

<sup>30</sup> Strabo 4.6.12.

<sup>31</sup> G.E.F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul* (above n. 27) p. 171.

of the attractiveness of the territory.<sup>32</sup> For our purposes, it does not matter that northern Italy during the period of the Roman Republic was less productive than it was during the Renaissance or than it is today; it only matters that Cisalpine Gaul in the Republican period contained land of a generally higher quality than the rest of Italy in the same period, a reality which the remarks of Pliny, Strabo, Cato and especially Polybius – ‘the most fertile and largest plain known in all of Europe’ – seem to confirm.<sup>33</sup>

### *Vacant land in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century*

The quality of the territory between the Appennines and the Alps is only significant for the question of migration if enough of that land was vacant in our period to be a real attraction to immigrants. The series of events in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century that brought the region fully into the Roman sphere had as one of its immediate consequences a decline in the population in many areas and a large-scale clearing of Gallic and Ligurian tribes from others. Given the tendency of Roman generals to exaggerate numbers of enemy dead, any attempt to quantify with precision the demographic effect of the Roman conquest would be misguided.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, that the conquest of the north had devastating consequences for the population is beyond doubt. At this point, it makes sense to look briefly at those aspects of the Roman conquest of the north that had the greatest effects on that population.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> It should be noted that Brunt's minimizing view of the late Republican population of Cisalpine Gaul stems from his view that the sharp increase recorded in the Augustan census figures is the result of a qualitative change in the census brought about by Augustus. For a recent rebuttal of that view, see E. Lo Cascio, 'The size of the Roman population: Beloch and the meaning of the Augustan census figures', *JRS* 84 (1994) pp. 23-40.

<sup>33</sup> Brunt seems to be trying to disprove one false argument (i.e. that Cisalpine Gaul must have been productive and attractive in the Roman period because it is such today) with another false argument (i.e. that Cisalpine Gaul did *not* attract many settlers in Roman times because it was less productive and less attractive than it is today). The relevant comparison should rather be between the Po Valley and the rest of Italy *in the same period*. That is after all the comparison that a potential immigrant would make in trying to determine whether or not the move would improve his situation.

<sup>34</sup> F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, I (Oxford 1957) pp. 211f. See also Livy 36.38.6-7, with J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy Books XXXIV-XXXVII* (Oxford 1981) p. 64.

<sup>35</sup> Good summaries of the period are given in C. Peyre, *La Cisalpine gauloise du III<sup>e</sup> au I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 1979) pp. 43-52; G. Bandelli, *Ricerche*, pp. 1-20; W.V. Harris, 'Roman expansion in the west', *CAH*<sup>2</sup> 8 (1989) pp. 107-117; E. Gabba, 'La conquista della Gallia Cisalpina', (above n. 5) pp. 69-77; N. Purcell, 'The creation of provincial landscape: the Roman



One of the first factors to affect the demography of the Po Valley was the loss of lives on the side of the Gauls and the Ligures in the fighting first of the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century, then of the Hannibalic War and finally of the so-called reconquest of the north in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>36</sup> The first of the northern tribes to suffer the wrath of Rome was that of the Gallic Senones. After being on the losing side in the Battle of Sentinum in 295, they were comprehensively defeated by the Romans in 283. Polybius reports that most of them were killed at that time and that the rest were driven out.<sup>37</sup> The next major fighting came a half-century later in the Gallic Wars of 225-221, in which the Romans defeated the Boii and the Insubres (and the Gaesatae, a Transalpine tribe) and captured the Insubrian centres at Mediolanum and Comum. Here again Polybius records heavy losses on the side of the Gauls: 40,000 were killed and 10,000 taken prisoner.<sup>38</sup> Polybius adds that at this point the Romans hoped to expel the Gauls completely from the Po Valley – a Gallic request for peace was denied and the fighting continued.<sup>39</sup>

The Roman conquest was then delayed when Hannibal's invasion of Italy in 218 provided the defeated Gauls with an opportunity to fight back. They accordingly joined the Carthaginian side and entered the fray. Yet even when they were fighting alongside the Carthaginians in Hannibal's successful early battles in Italy, the Gallic soldiers seem still to have had a relatively low survival rate. According to Polybius, the Gauls suffered great losses in the battles at the River Trebia and at Lake Trasimene, despite being on the winning side.<sup>40</sup> Apparently, the Gauls travelled as unsuccessfully as they fought; in crossing the Appennines on the march between the two battles, the Gauls are said to have lost more men in the marshes than did any other contingent of Hannibal's army.<sup>41</sup>

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the Hannibalic War, the Romans began an eleven year campaign to re-conquer the Po Valley (201-190

---

impact on Cisalpine Gaul', in T. Blagg and M. Millett (eds.), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford 1990) pp. 7-29.

<sup>36</sup> See P. Brunt, *IM*, pp. 186-7.

<sup>37</sup> Polyb. 2.19.10-11.

<sup>38</sup> Polyb. 2.31.1.

<sup>39</sup> Polyb. 2.31.8, 34.1ff.

<sup>40</sup> Polyb. 3.74.10 (Trebia), 3.85.5 (Lake Trasimene); though admittedly at Lake Trasimene, the Gallic dead were merely the greater part of the total 1,500 dead on Hannibal's side.

<sup>41</sup> Polyb. 3.79.8.

BC).<sup>42</sup> This time the force against the Romans included not only the Boii and the Insubres, but also the Cenomani and the Ligures. By 191, the Cenomani, the Insubres and the Boii – in that order – had been defeated. The war and the treatment of the defeated, perhaps fuelled by the Romans' traditional hatred of the Gauls and by their more recent anger at the Gauls' having sided with Hannibal, without doubt left large numbers of dead on the Gallic side. Polybius, who claims to have travelled in Cisalpine Gaul in his own day, writes that the Gauls were completely expelled from the valley of the Po, except for a few places under the Alps.<sup>43</sup> This statement of Polybius' is generally taken to be an exaggeration and is, at least partially, contradicted by other evidence.<sup>44</sup> For example, Livy records harsh treatment of the defeated Boii, but reports that only half of their territory was confiscated by Rome.<sup>45</sup> Though Strabo and Pliny agree that the Boii and Senones had been wiped out,<sup>46</sup> Strabo adds that the Insubres were still very much a presence in his day.<sup>47</sup> Onomastic and archaeological evidence is consistent with Strabo's account and shows a certain level of Gallic influence surviving the Roman conquest in other areas as well.<sup>48</sup> It is also to be remembered that the Veneti remained loyal allies of the Romans throughout the process of conquest and did not suffer losses to the same extent as the other peoples of the valley.

The conquest of the Ligures was a slower process and was not complete until the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. In this case too, there are references to mass bloodshed upon final victory by the Romans. After several parts of the Ligurian population had already been subject to deportation, M. Popillius Laenas, the consul of 173, attacked the Statellates in southern Piemonte and left only 10,000 survivors, which he then sold into slavery.<sup>49</sup>

Especially, but not only, in the case of the Ligures, forced deportations were another part of Roman policy that affected the demography of the north. The first people to be subject to deportation from Cisalpine Gaul was the tribe of

---

<sup>42</sup> See W.V. Harris, 'Roman expansion in the west', (above n. 35) pp. 110ff.

<sup>43</sup> Polyb. 2.35.4.

<sup>44</sup> F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, I (above n. 34) pp. 211f.

<sup>45</sup> Livy 36.39.3.

<sup>46</sup> Strabo 5.1.6 & 10; Pliny, *NH*, 3.15.116.

<sup>47</sup> Strabo 5.1.6.

<sup>48</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 192; W.V. Harris, 'Roman expansion in the west', (above n. 35) p. 113.

<sup>49</sup> Livy 42.8.1. Confusingly, for the following year, Livy records a second battle between Popillius and the Statellates in which 6,000 more of the latter were killed (42.11.2).



Transalpine Gauls who in 186 had moved into the territory of the Veneti and were settling near the site of the future colony of Aquileia. The Roman response was to expel the 12,000 men, plus their women and children, back across the Alps.<sup>50</sup> In the years that followed, deportation became a common policy particularly in Rome's dealings with the Ligures.<sup>51</sup> In 180 BC, 40,000 adult males along with their women and children were deported from Liguria Apuana to Samnium.<sup>52</sup> Later that same year, another 7,000 Apuani were deported from Liguria to Samnium.<sup>53</sup> On other occasions, groups of Ligures were deported the much shorter distance from their mountain homes in Liguria to the plains north of the Po: in 187 a *multitudo*, in 180 a group of 3,200 and in 172 *multa milia hominum*.<sup>54</sup>

Deportations and comprehensive defeats by the Romans would have left large stretches of the Cisalpina vacant by the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The mountainous region of Liguria and most of the Cispadana – the former territory of the Senones and the Boii – must have been especially lacking in surviving inhabitants. The passages of Livy relating to the expulsion of the Transalpine Gauls from the future site of Aquileia suggest that even the territory of the Veneti, the one Cisalpine people never subject to defeat or deportation at the hands of the Romans, was largely unoccupied, or at least very thinly settled in parts: the Gallic immigrants claim to have chosen that area to settle because it was 'untilled for a lack of settlers.'<sup>55</sup>

It should be clear that there was much vacant land to be filled in the general region of the Po Valley. The next question is how much of that land was filled by the Roman state's programmes of colonization and viritane settlement. Including the *ager Gallicus* and beginning with the early citizen colony at Sena Gallica, we know of six Latin colonies altogether and five citizen colonies. The Latin colonies are Ariminum (268), Placentia and Cremona (218), Bononia

<sup>50</sup> Livy 39.22.6; 39.45.6-7; 39.54.2-13.

<sup>51</sup> See A. Barzanò, 'Il trasferimento dei Ligures Apuani nel Sannio del 180-179 a.C.', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico* (Milan 1995) pp. 177-201.

<sup>52</sup> Livy 40.38.1-9. Naturally, some have their doubts about the figure recorded in Livy. A. Barzanò, 'Il trasferimento dei Ligures Apuani nel Sannio del 180-179 a.C.', (above n. 51) n. 4 suggests that the figure of 40,000 might include women and children since Livy refers to a group of 12,000 men earlier in the passage.

<sup>53</sup> Livy 40.41.1-6.

<sup>54</sup> Livy 39.2.9 (187); 40.53.3 (180), 42.22.5-6 (172).

<sup>55</sup> Livy 39.54.5: the area was *inculta per solitudines*.

(189), Aquileia (181), and probably Dertona.<sup>56</sup> The citizen colonies are Sena Gallica (290-283), Pisaurum (184), Mutina and Parma (183), and Eporedia (100). For several of the foundations, we know the number of colonists sent out by Rome.<sup>57</sup> Placentia and Cremona had 6,000 each.<sup>58</sup> Bononia had 3,000 colonists, but with very large land allotments, equites getting 70 *iugera* each and the rest 50.<sup>59</sup> Aquileia received at least 3,000, but again the plots were unusually large, equites getting 140 *iugera*, centurions 100, and pedites 50.<sup>60</sup> The citizen colonies at Mutina and Parma had only 2,000 settlers each (with the very small allotments of 8 and 5 *iugera* respectively).<sup>61</sup> For the remaining five known colonies, we do not have any figures, though some reasonable guesses can be made: 300 at the 3<sup>rd</sup> century-type citizen colony of Sena Gallica; 2,000 at the 2<sup>nd</sup> century citizen colony of Pisaurum;<sup>62</sup> between 4,000 and 6,000 at the Latin colony of Ariminum;<sup>63</sup> and possibly 3,000 at Dertona.<sup>64</sup> Because we know so little of the possible colonization of Piemonte beyond Velleius' reference to Eporedia, it is difficult even to guess the size of the citizen colony founded there at the very end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>65</sup>

Three of the Latin colonies in the Po Valley later received *supplementa* in the earlier decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Rome sent 6,000 fresh settlers to Placentia and Cremona in 190 BC and 1,500 new settlers to Aquileia in 169 BC.<sup>66</sup> In both cases, however, the colonists sent as *supplementa* must have been no more than replacements for numbers of original colonists lost in the difficult early years of

---

<sup>56</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 168. I here exclude the colonies of Luna and Luca. Though they were included in the region known as Cisalpine Gaul, they are obviously not part of the territory of the Po Valley itself.

<sup>57</sup> See P. Brunt, *IM*, pp. 190-8; G. Bandelli, 'La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale', (above n. 2) pp. 189-215.

<sup>58</sup> Polyb. 3.40.3-5; Ascon., *In Pis.*, p.3 Clark.

<sup>59</sup> Livy 37.47.2; 37.57.7.

<sup>60</sup> Livy 40.34.2-3, where the problematic line, *Tria milia peditum quinquagena iugera, centuriones centena, centena quadragena equites acceperunt*, is unclear as to whether there were 3,000 pedites *plus* a number of centurions and equites, or whether the centurions and equites are included in the figure of 3,000. See G. Bandelli, *Ricerche*, pp. 36-40 where he puts the total number of colonists between 3,000 and a maximum of 3,360.

<sup>61</sup> Livy 39.55.6-8.

<sup>62</sup> G. Bandelli, 'La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale', (above n. 2) pp. 205-6.

<sup>63</sup> Livy, *Per.* 15; Vell. Pat. 1.14.7; Eutr. 2.16. The figures come from comparison to colonies in the same period at Alba Fucens (6,000 colonists), Sora and Carseoli (4,000), and Placentia and Cremona (6,000); see G. Bandelli, *Ricerche*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>64</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 193 guesses 3,000 for Luca. The colony at Dertona is problematic in many ways; see the reference at Vell. Pat. 1.15.5.

<sup>65</sup> Vell. Pat. 1.15.5; see P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 198.



the three colonies in question, and so cannot be considered necessarily to have occupied previously vacant land.<sup>67</sup> Leaving the later colony of Eporedia aside for the moment, Rome's colonial foundations during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century seem then to have brought somewhat less than 35,000 colonists into the region of the Po Valley. As Brunt points out, those who came to the north as colonists 'can hardly have replaced the Gauls and Ligures killed in the fighting.'<sup>68</sup> There would have remained significantly large stretches of vacant land even after their arrival.

The assessment of vacant land in the Po Valley becomes much more difficult when we consider the two major initiatives of viri-tane settlement in the region. The first was the distribution of the *ager Picenus et Gallicus* in 232 BC.<sup>69</sup> This territory, in the south-east corner of the Po Valley and down along the Adriatic, consisted of the land confiscated from the Senones in 283 and from the Piceni in 268. The second viri-tane distribution was that of the *ager Ligustinus et Gallicus* in 173, this consisting of land along the *via Aemilia* and in Liguria.<sup>70</sup> The problem of these distributions is that the sources preserve no figures whatsoever for the number of settlers involved. Of the distribution of 232, Polybius only hints at a significantly large scale when he records that it was at that time that the Gauls began to fear total extermination by the Romans. For that of 173, Livy kindly records the size of allotments made, but includes no information as to the number of recipients.<sup>71</sup> The problem is further compounded by the paucity of evidence after the loss of Livy from 167 and the consequent possibility that there were later distributions of which we are unaware.<sup>72</sup> Unfortunately, the number and effect of the settlers who arrived in Cisalpine Gaul as a result of viri-tane distributions of land must remain an open question for the time being.

---

<sup>66</sup> Livy 37.46.10 (Placentia and Cremona); 43.17.1 (Aquileia).

<sup>67</sup> See P. Brunt, *IM*, pp. 190-1 for the case of Placentia and Cremona, and Bandelli, *Ricerche*, pp. 41-2 for Aquileia.

<sup>68</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 193.

<sup>69</sup> This is the territory named as the Πικεντίνη προσαγορευομένη χώρα by Polybius (2.21.7), the *ager Picenus et Gallicus* by Cicero (*Cato*, 11 and *Brut.*, 57), and the *ager Gallicus Romanus* by Cato (at Varro, *RR*, 1.2.7 = *Origines*, fr. 43 Peter, 2.14 Chassignet). See above, chapter 1.

<sup>70</sup> Livy 42.4.3-4. U. Ewins, 'The early colonisation of Cisalpine Gaul', *PBSR* 20 (1952) pp. 59ff. uses the presence of communities in the Pollia tribe to identify the area of the viri-tane distribution of 173 as consisting of a strip of land along the *via Aemilia* and the area around Asti between the Po, Tánaro and Stura rivers.

<sup>71</sup> The sizes of the plots were 10 *iugera* for citizens and 3 for Latins.

It is nonetheless likely that of the large territory made vacant by the Roman conquest of Cisalpine Gaul, only a part was subsequently occupied by Rome's colonial foundations. And while it is true that we are in complete ignorance as to the scale of the viridane distributions in the region, even a high estimate of the number of individuals involved would do little to change the picture. In the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, there would have remained unoccupied, or at least only thinly settled, large stretches of land in the north.

### *The question of information*

The next question is the important question of information. Would Romans and non-Romans living south of the Appennines have been aware of the availability of land, and of the existence of other economic opportunities, to the north of the Appennines? Looking again at the literary sources within the Roman sphere, it is clear that Roman military and colonial operations in the region had resulted, by the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, in a notable increase in the level of knowledge of northern Italy.<sup>73</sup> The relevant fragments of Cato's *Origines* and the fuller description of the region in Polybius reveal the kind of details that suggest a close acquaintance with the natural features of the Po Valley and the mountains around it. In addition to the passages on the fat Cisalpine pigs and the productivity of the *ager Gallicus* mentioned already, Cato also records the length of the *lacus Larius* (mod. Lake Como).<sup>74</sup> Cato's knowledge of the north interestingly also includes many details relating to the area north of the Po and reveals a conception of the Cisalpine region as belonging geographically to Italy.<sup>75</sup> The same is true of Polybius, who, in addition to his many comments on the fertility of the plain of the Po, describes the lakes of the Transpadana, the various passes over the Alps and the quality of the gold mine above Aquileia.<sup>76</sup> Polybius too seems to have a conception of the

---

<sup>72</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 198.

<sup>73</sup> P. Tozzi, 'Gli inizi della riflessione storiografica sull'Italia settentrionale nella Roma del II secolo a.C.', *Ath.*, fasc. spec. (1976) pp. 28-50. On perceptions of the north of Italy, see also N. Purcell, 'The creation of provincial landscape: the Roman impact on Cisalpine Gaul', (above n. 35) pp. 9-12.

<sup>74</sup> Servius, *ad Verg. Georg.* 2.159 = *Origines*, fr. 38 Peter, 2.8 Chassignet.

<sup>75</sup> Servius, *ad Verg. Aen.* 10.13 = *Origines*, fr. 85 Peter, 4.10 Chassignet: *Alpes quae secundum Catonem et Livium muri vice tuebantur Italiam*.

<sup>76</sup> 34.10.15 = Strabo 4.6.12 (on lakes and passes); 34.10.10f. = Strabo 4.6.12 (on gold above



Po valley as a unity belonging to Italy, yet distinct from other areas for its natural qualities.<sup>77</sup> Details such as these suggest that Cato and Polybius had, or at least had access to, a high level of knowledge of Cisalpine Gaul, perhaps reflecting their access to official documents relating to military and colonial operations in the north;<sup>78</sup> but that does not necessarily mean that such knowledge was diffused to the average Gaius or Lucius.

There are several ways that news of the situation in the Po Valley at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century could have been diffused to the lower ranks of Roman and Italian society, i.e. to a larger body of potential immigrants seeking to take advantage of what the north had to offer. The most significant channels of information would have been service in the army, preparations for the official programmes of settlement, and inter-regional commerce.

As is clear from the points on the Roman conquest made above, the Roman army was active in the north for several decades in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. After the early campaign against the Senones from 285 to 283 came the major campaign against the Boii, Insubres and Gaesatae between 225 and 221, almost immediately followed by the difficult battles of 218 against Hannibal in the north and a continued presence in the region up to the defeat and withdrawal of Mago in 203. Then in 201 began the eleven-year concentrated effort against the Boii, Insubres and Cenomani, followed by the drawn-out conquest of Liguria, which consisted of several campaigns in the years between 187 and 170. In this same period, in 178-177, the Romans also conducted a war against the Istrians in the north-east. Over the course of this fifty-five year period between 225 and 170, there were less than ten years when a Roman army was *not* active in Cisalpine Gaul. It is likely that some of the men serving in the region, having seen the opportunities available, would have settled there themselves.<sup>79</sup> It is also likely that these men, and others who chose not to settle

---

Aquileia).

<sup>77</sup> 2.14.7, which P. Tozzi, 'Gli inizi della riflessione storiografica sull'Italia settentrionale nella Roma del II secolo a.C.', (above n. 73) p. 40, n. 38 sees as the beginning of the idea of 'north Italy' for the first time.

<sup>78</sup> P. Tozzi, 'Gli inizi della riflessione storiografica sull'Italia settentrionale nella Roma del II secolo a.C.', (above n. 73) p. 42.

<sup>79</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 165.

there but returned home, would have passed information about the situation in the north on to relatives and friends back in central and southern Italy.<sup>80</sup>

The same can be said for the 35,000 or so participants in the official colonial foundations and the unknown number of participants in the *viridane* distributions. It is not a stretch of the imagination to picture a colonist, especially one who had received a large allotment as at Bononia or Aquileia, passing information about vacant land or other opportunities on to friends and relatives in the community in central or southern Italy from which he originated. Links made in this way, through a connection on the spot, would also have facilitated immigration to the region, especially for those arriving from a long distance or with little or no resources to help them survive the first year. The programmes of colonization and distributions must also have included some kind of publicity. Precise information concerning the situation in the north would have been known at Rome in order for plans to be put together and must have been made public in order to attract recruits for the colonial foundations and settlers for the *viridane* distributions.

At the same time, and independently of the operations of the Roman state, commercial activity would also have served as a channel of information between the Po Valley and other regions of the Italian peninsula. In his assessment of the economic geography of Cisalpine Gaul, Brunt concluded that the economy of the region during the period of the Roman Republic was one of isolated self-sufficiency, 'very largely cut off from trade with other parts of Italy, Gaul, or the Mediterranean at large,'<sup>81</sup> but this assessment, as we have already seen, is the result of an overly negative interpretation of literary evidence that is itself, at worst, ambiguous. Studies that make major use of material evidence alongside the references in the literary sources have since challenged most of the points on which Brunt's conclusions are based and have revealed a very different picture.<sup>82</sup>

Studies based on amphorae finds have shown that there is now fairly abundant evidence of commercial links between the Po Valley and the whole of

---

<sup>80</sup> I fail to see why Brunt believes 'we cannot count on their diffusing accurate information', *IM*, p.161. In fact, it does not really matter if the information was accurate or not, so long as it was positive and contributed to a *perception* of the attractiveness of the north.

<sup>81</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, p. 172-84.

<sup>82</sup> See for example P. Garnsey, 'Economy and society of Mediolanum under the Principate', (above n. 8) pp. 13-18 which relies in part on the material collected in P. Baldacci, 'Alcuni aspetti dei commerci nei territori cisalpini', *Atti, Ce.S.D.I.R.* 1 (1967-8) pp. 5-50.



the Adriatic coast right down to Apulia.<sup>83</sup> At Aquileia, for example, in recent excavations of the area north of the forum, there were found Brundisium type amphorae and Greco-italic amphorae of a type found in heavy concentrations also at Adria, Spina, Ancona and in Apulia, all of which points to the existence of extensive commercial links already in the earlier 2<sup>nd</sup> century at the time of the colonial foundation.<sup>84</sup> Amphorae finds from as far west as Cremona and Milan suggest the extent and importance of the early trade in olive oil from Apulia.<sup>85</sup> Bruno's recent study of Lamboglia 2 type amphorae found in the Po Valley has revealed the continued vitality and extended distances of commercial contacts centred on the Adriatic between the late 2<sup>nd</sup> and late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>86</sup> The many finds of Lamboglia 2 amphorae from Lombardia show that the whole of the Po Valley, from Milan in the west to Aquileia and other port cities in the east, was part of a circuit of commercial contact that included the length of the Adriatic coast of Italy, coastal Dalmatia and Illyria, and Greece.

Other kinds of material also attest to commercial relations with central and southern Italy. Evidence of Roman bronze coins circulating alongside drachms of the Gallic tribes points to a high level of commercial contact between Romans and the non-Roman areas of the Po Valley from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century on.<sup>87</sup> The fact that the system based on the precious metal coinage of the pre-Roman north was neither accepted and continued as was nor completely replaced by the Roman system based on the *denarius*, but rather was joined in circulation with Roman bronze coinage is probably the result of a slow and natural development that in turn must have been the result of sustained commercial contact from a fairly early date. From Aquileia comes a fragment of a particularly well-crafted monumental frieze in an early style found previously only in Etruria and Apulia.<sup>88</sup> All of these more recent finds suggest that we

---

<sup>83</sup> See e.g. M.T. Cipriano and M.-B. Carre, 'Production et typologie des amphores sur la côte adriatique de l'Italie', in *Amphores romaines et histoire économique* (Rome 1989) pp. 67-104.

<sup>84</sup> F. Maselli Scotti, 'Aquileia e il suo territorio agli albori del II secolo a.C.', (above n. 17) p. 468 and n. 32.

<sup>85</sup> P. Baldacci, 'Importazioni cisalpine e produzione apula', in *Recherches sur les amphores romaines* (Rome 1972) pp. 7-28.

<sup>86</sup> B. Bruno, *Aspetti di storia economica della Cisalpina romana. Le anfore di tipo Lamboglia 2 rinvenute in Lombardia* (Rome 1995).

<sup>87</sup> M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (London 1985) p. 83 with App. 24, p. 297, which shows the association of silver of Cisalpine Gaul and Roman bronze in finds from La Spezia, Como, Bergamo, Verona, Trento, Este, Treviglio, Altino and Modena.

<sup>88</sup> M. Verzár Bass, 'Contributo alla storia sociale di Aquileia repubblicana: la documentazione

should make even more of the few literary references we do have to commercial activity involving the Po Valley, such as the important passage of Polybius (already mentioned above) in which he claims that almost all of the large quantity of pork consumed in Italy in the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century came from the Cisalpine region.<sup>89</sup>

Right from the beginning of Roman involvement in Cisalpine Gaul, there were several channels of information by which news of opportunities available in the region would have been made known to potential immigrants south of the Appennines. The almost constant presence of a Roman army, the formal and informal passage of knowledge as a result of colonization, and the existence of early and extensive commercial links show that we cannot cite ignorance as an argument against immigration.

With the above considerations, I have attempted primarily to show that a negative assessment of the economy of the Po Valley and of the scale of immigration to the region, such as that given by Brunt, is not consistent with the evidence now available, especially with recent archaeological findings like the evidence of early efforts to reclaim marshland and of early commercial links with the rest of Italy. A more accurate picture of the Po Valley is one of a fertile plain whose few negative aspects (marshes, heavy woods) were already being transformed by human intervention by the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century; a plain where large stretches of territory had been left vacant by wars and deportations and had not been fully re-occupied by official Roman settlement programmes; and a plain whose many and various economic opportunities would have been known to many inhabitants of central and southern Italy. Given such a situation, it is more useful to view the north as a real land of opportunity and to accept the possibility of a much larger scale of migration into and within the region than Brunt believed. Having thus established motive and opportunity, can we find a smoking gun in the evidence from the Po Valley that can help reveal certain patterns of migration in response to the changing economic situation in the region during this period?

---

archeologica', in *Les bourgeoisies*, pp. 207-8, pl. XIV.

<sup>89</sup> Polyb. 2.15.3. For a later period, we can add Pliny's reference to the commercial importance of the Po River itself: 'The eleventh region receives from the river the name of Transpadana; it is situated entirely inland, but the river carries to it on its bounteous channel the products of all the seas' (*Transpadana appellatur ab eo regio undecima, tota in mediterraneo, cui marina cuncta*



### *Some patterns of migration*

Already in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century, that is right from the start of the Roman presence in the north, there emerges a pattern of migration linked to Rome's military operations in the region. As noted above, the late 3<sup>rd</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> century was a time of heavy military activity in the Po Valley, with the largely continuous conflicts of the Gallic Wars, the Hannibalic War and the subsequent re-conquest of the region by the Romans. As part of their military presence in the north during the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the Romans had established, in addition to the colonies at Placentia and Cremona, several garrisoned *emporia* whose function was to supply the army. One such *emporium* was established at Victumulae, between Vercellae and the future site of Eporedia. Livy's account of the fall of Victumulae to Hannibal during the winter of 218-217 suggests that at least that trading post had become a major magnet for immigrants during the Gallic Wars and the first year of Hannibal's presence in Italy. According to Livy, 'the place had been an emporium for the Romans during the Gallic War, and once fortified had attracted mixed neighbours from all the adjoining peoples; and later, fear of plundering had driven large numbers from the fields into the garrison.'<sup>90</sup> At the risk of pushing Livy too far, it is possible to distinguish two trends at work here, both directly linked to military activity: first, immigration from neighbouring communities of those who hoped to take advantage of Victumulae's role as an *emporium*, and second, the more recent, and only very local immigration of those who simply sought the protection of a walled centre at a time when the countryside was threatened by the advancing Carthaginian army. Livy goes on to say that when Hannibal approached Victumulae itself, the mixed population there was able to field 35,000 men against him. This figure seems unreasonably high and could easily be dismissed as an exaggeration. Nevertheless, the pattern of migration to active trading posts during periods of intense military activity finds a parallel elsewhere in the case of Puteoli, which

---

*fructuoso alveo inportat*) (NH, 3.17.123)).

<sup>90</sup> Livy 21.57.10: *Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum frequentaverant accolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris compulerat.*

had also attracted many immigrants by the time it was fortified in 215 BC.<sup>91</sup> To return to the Po Valley, it is likely then that the same pattern was at work with regard to other garrisoned *emporia* set up by the Romans, for example at Clastidium and at the site *prope Placentiam*, though the proximity of the latter to the colony at Placentia will probably have reduced the scale of its importance as a centre of attraction.<sup>92</sup> In this context must also be cited the passage of Polybius in which he seems to class Mutina as an ἀποικία of the Romans already in 218 BC, thirty-five years before the citizen colony was sent to the site in 183.<sup>93</sup> Though the passage is uncertain, it is likely that Mutina too was an important garrison in this early period.<sup>94</sup> Looking beyond the evidence of Polybius and Livy, work on late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> century pottery finds from the Cispadane plain has led to the suggestion that there was a string of such military/commercial outposts along the line of the future *via Aemilia*, and that sites like Bononia, Mutina and Regium Lepidum were already by the Hannibalic War – and so several decades before their official colonial or other settlement – important commercial centres with mixed Roman and local inhabitants.<sup>95</sup>

Also directly linked with military activity is a pattern of migration in the other direction, that is, a pattern of individual emigration from the Po valley in response to the hostilities of this early period. As mentioned briefly above, three of the six Latin colonies in the north had to be reinforced with *supplementa* in the earlier 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Part of the problem in these cases had been emigration from the colonies. In 206 BC, twelve years after their foundation, and again in 190,

---

<sup>91</sup> Livy 24.7.10: *Exitu anni eius Q. Fabius ex auctoritate senatus Puteolos, per bellum coeptum frequentari emporium, communiit praesidiumque imposuit.*

<sup>92</sup> Livy 21.48.8-9 (Clastidium), 21.57.6-8 (*emporium prope Placentiam*).

<sup>93</sup> Polyb. 3.40.8: the Romans are pursued εἰς Μοτίνην, ἀποικίαν ὑπάρχουσαν Ῥωμαίων.

<sup>94</sup> U. Ewins, 'The early colonisation of Cisalpine Gaul', (above n. 70) p. 55; F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, I (above n. 34) p. 375 insists that an ἀποικία implies more than a garrison and chooses the probably too simple solution that Polybius is referring to the status of Mutina in his own time, after the foundation of the citizen colony in 183. M.H. Crawford, 'La storia dell'colonizzazione romana secondo I Romani', in A. Storch Marino (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore* (Naples 1995) p. 191, suggests instead that the Romans did not establish a rigid definition of what counted as a 'colony', in the sense that we understand one, until the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and so that the settlement at Mutina in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century was indeed a colony of sorts, fitting for the open and experimental period of Roman colonization in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but one that might not have been defined as such when in the later period the definition became more rigid and when in any case another settlement had been made there in the meantime.

<sup>95</sup> D. Baldoni et al., 'Alcune osservazioni sulla romanizzazione della valle padana', in D. Vitali (ed.), *Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dal V secolo a.C. alla romanizzazione* (Bologna 1987) pp. 397-404.



the colonies of Placentia and Cremona sent an embassy to Rome complaining that their cities were depopulated because ‘a great part of their colonists had moved away.’<sup>96</sup> In the case of Aquileia, the colonists made similar complaints of weakness to the Roman Senate in 171, ten years after the foundation of the colony there.<sup>97</sup> In both cases, emigration from the colonies was almost certainly a reaction to the particular difficulties experienced by each in the early years after their foundations. Placentia and Cremona, after suffering from raids by Gauls in the years before 206, were in 200 the victims of the joint forces of the Insubres, the Boii and the Cenomani, who captured and burned Placentia and laid siege to Cremona.<sup>98</sup> Then after being largely restored in 195, Placentia saw its territory invaded again in 193, this time by the Ligures.<sup>99</sup> Aquileia suffered from the same problem of hostile neighbours, especially before and during the Istrian War of 178-7, and possibly also from the abandonment of the colony by a fair number of colonists who might have been discouraged by the difficult conditions of the land in some areas in the early stages before draining projects could increase the arability and productivity of such areas.<sup>100</sup> As we have seen, the *supplementa* of 6,000 fresh settlers to Placentia and Cremona in 190 BC and of 1,500 to Aquileia in 169 replaced the numbers lost by the colonies in their early decades and signal the end of the emigratory trend.

These early patterns of individual migration as a response to military activity are relevant up to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Thereafter, the strategic situation in the north was very different; and we should expect to find different patterns of migration in response to different stimuli.

In addition to the change in the strategic situation and the cessation of intense military activity after the 160s, there are several other considerations that also point to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC as a major turning point in the demographic history of the Po Valley and as the point when a significant level of immigration to the region and of internal migration within the region is likely to have begun. The first is the systematic and co-ordinated treatment of the region

---

<sup>96</sup> Livy 28.11.10: *querentes . . . magnamque partem colonorum suorum dilapsam esse*; 37.46.10.

<sup>97</sup> Livy 43.1.4.

<sup>98</sup> Livy 31.10.3 & 21.

<sup>99</sup> Livy 34.56.10.

<sup>100</sup> See G. Bandelli, *Ricerche*, p. 42. As noted above, however, the difficulties of the land and the

in the literary sources beginning around 150 BC. As noted above, the detailed remarks of Cato and Polybius on many of the natural features of the north reveal the existence, at least within the upper reaches of Roman society, of a high level of knowledge concerning the whole of the Cisalpine region. By the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, an extensive network of roads was also in place, linking the various communities of the Po Valley with each other and linking the region as a whole with the rest of the Italian peninsula. The *via Aemilia* across the Cispadane plain from Ariminum to Placentia and the *via Flaminia minor* from Arretium to Bononia had been constructed by the consuls of 187. A road from Bononia to Aquileia had been laid down either in 175 by M. Aemilius Lepidus or in 153 by T. Annius Luscus. And, perhaps most significant of the transformation and consolidation of the north, the important *via Postumia* across the length of the region from Genua to Aquileia was constructed in 148 BC.<sup>101</sup> So it is in this period that begins the transformation of the region of the Po from a military frontier into the prosperous and populous region that it had become by the time of Strabo.

The first clear patterns of individual movement that emerge in this period involve the official Roman settlements in the Po Valley, namely the migration into and out from the various colonial foundations.<sup>102</sup> As an example of the trend that saw natives moving into the colonies of the region, Filippo Càssola cites the Insubrian Calventius, maternal grandfather of L. Calpurnius Piso (cos. 58), who migrated to the Latin colony of Placentia before going thence to Rome, where he married off his daughter to Piso's father. The evidence for Calventius' movements is not so clear-cut, however, coming as it does entirely from the opening fragments of Cicero's speech against Piso of 55 BC.<sup>103</sup> According to Cicero, Calventius was an Insubrian merchant and auctioneer who left his home to settle at Placentia where he became a citizen, so bringing about the transformation of his status from a *Gallus* to a *Gallicanus* and finally to a

---

obstacle represented by the need to drain certain areas are not to be exaggerated.

<sup>101</sup> For recent bibliography on the road network of the Po valley, see *Optima via* and *Tesori della Postumia. Archeologia e storia intorno a una grande strada romana alle radici dell'Europa* (Catalogo della mostra, Cremona 1998) (Milan 1998).

<sup>102</sup> F. Càssola, 'La colonizzazione romana della Transpadana', (above n. 4) pp. 27-30.

<sup>103</sup> The relevant fragments are Asc., *In Pis.* p. 5 Clark (= fr. 9 Nisbet) and Asc., *In Pis.* p. 4 Clark (= fr. 11 Nisbet).



*Placentinus*.<sup>104</sup> But the extent to which Cicero's remarks on Calventius' background can be trusted is open to question. Nisbet classifies the remarks as the kind of fictitious invective typical of a speech like the *in Pisonem*.<sup>105</sup> It is certainly the case that Cicero makes the most of Piso's undistinguished descent on his mother's side. Elsewhere he refers to Calventius as the 'Milanese auctioneer'; puns on his origin as a *Gallus* and a cock (*gallus*) crowing, with allusion to Calventius' occupation as an auctioneer; and refers derisively to Piso himself as 'Caesoninus Semiplacentinus Calventius', and as 'a disgrace not only to his paternal line but even to his trouser-wearing kin'.<sup>106</sup> But Nisbet is perhaps too quick to dismiss Cicero's remarks as complete fabrication. Càssola might be right to see in them a kernel of truth. Some support for seeing in them at least a distinct possibility comes from Tacitus' well-known comment that Cremona had grown and flourished through the addition of and intermarriage with local peoples.<sup>107</sup> Evidence from another quarter might help to tip the balance.

A strong indication of the attraction of immigrants to colonial foundations, as to any other centre, is the unnaturally rapid growth of those foundations that is sometimes evident in the surviving archaeological record. The Latin colony of Aquileia provides our best evidence for this kind of growth during the later Republic.<sup>108</sup> Founded in 181 BC, the colony at Aquileia had struggled in its early decades, as we have already noted; but after the *supplementum* of 169, the colony's fortunes changed for the better, partly because of the pacification of its hostile neighbours and partly because of interventions to improve the quality of its territory.<sup>109</sup> It is in this period, almost

<sup>104</sup> Asconius (p. 4 Clark) adds that Calventius had originally come from Transalpine Gaul: *venisse eum in Italiam dicit trans Alpis*.

<sup>105</sup> R.G.M. Nisbet, *M. Tulli Cic. in L. Calp. Pis. or.* (Oxford 1961) *ad fr.* 9; see also p. 194.

<sup>106</sup> Cic., *in Pis.* 62.4 (*Mediolanensis praeco*), 67.20 (*Gallus/gallus* pun), 14.16 (*Caesoninus Semiplacentinus Calventius*), 53.18 (*neque paterni generis sed bracatae cognationis dedecus*).

<sup>107</sup> Tac., *Hist.*, 3.34: *adnexu conubiisque gentium adolevit floruitque*. Strabo might be describing the same phenomenon when he says of the Romans in colonies in the Po Valley that they 'have been intermingled with the stock of the Ombrici and also, in some places, with that of the Tyrrheni' (5.1.10). It is possible, however, that Strabo means rather that the Roman colonies were simply on sites where an Umbrian or Etruscan settlement had previously existed, some of whose inhabitants remained on the site even after the Roman colonies had been founded.

<sup>108</sup> The richness of archaeological (and epigraphic) evidence at Aquileia is to be explained largely by the fact that the site was abandoned in the later 5<sup>th</sup> century AD in favour of the more easily defensible site of Grado. But Aquileia should not necessarily be taken as a typical example of a Latin colony in the north, as the richness of evidence there is just as much a result of the extraordinary economic and later administrative importance of the city.

<sup>109</sup> M. Strazzulla, '*In paludibus moenia constituta*', (above n. 18) p. 215f.

immediately after 169, that the rich evidence of monumental building and economic development at Aquileia begins. That these developments were at the same time accompanied by a certain level of urban growth is shown, for example, by the discovery of a Republican house outside the circuit of the original walls.<sup>110</sup> Certainly by the time of the Principate, the population of Aquileia had far outstripped its initial colonial size. As we have already noted, modern estimates of its population in the early Imperial period are all large, the most reasonable of them placing it somewhere in the wide range between 100,000 and 500,000.<sup>111</sup> Given that the natural rate of population growth in the ancient world was quite low, the dramatic increase in the size of Aquileia between the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the end of the Republic can only be explained by a considerable level of immigration.

The problem of identifying the immigrants to the colony is more vexing. Strazzulla has noted at least three *gentes* in the Republican epigraphy of Aquileia that can be securely identified as originating from Praeneste.<sup>112</sup> Members of the *gentes Dindia*, *Samia* and *Tampia* all appear in Aquileia from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. It is difficult to tell, however, if these attestations represent the participation of allies from central Italy in Rome's colonial foundation or rather the immigration of individuals from central Italy to the colony *after* its foundation, at the time of its later 2<sup>nd</sup> century transition from a primarily military outpost to a thriving centre of commercial and other economic activity. It should be noted that members of at least one of the Praenestine *gentes*, the *Samia*, can be shown to have had strong commercial interests elsewhere.<sup>113</sup> In addition to its attestation at Aquileia from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the *gens* is attested outside Praeneste also at Delos from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century and at Minturnae from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>114</sup> At any rate, the evidence of rapid growth at Aquileia in the late Republic is strong; and that such growth is associated with the immigration both of individuals from peninsular Italy, like the *gentes* from Praeneste, as well

<sup>110</sup> M. Strazzulla in *Emilia Venezia. Guida archeologica Laterza* (Bari 1993) pp. 211, 237.

<sup>111</sup> A. Calderini, *Aquileia romana* (above n. 3) pp. 335-8.

<sup>112</sup> M. Strazzulla Rusconi, 'Onocles Dindi Tiberi servus: note su alcune presenze prenestine ad Aquileia in età repubblicana', *Arch. Class.* 34 (1982) pp. 98-138. See also above, Chapter 2.

<sup>113</sup> M. Strazzulla Rusconi, 'Onocles Dindi Tiberi servus', (above n. 112) pp. 114-122.

<sup>114</sup> *IDel* 2534 and 1760, 2-3 (Delos); *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2698, 2704 (Minturnae). See above, chapter 3, for the commercial importance of Minturnae in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC.



as of non-Roman inhabitants from the north-east of the Po Valley, parallel to the possible case of Calventius at Placentia, is likely.

Attestations of *gentilicia* have also been called upon to show movement in the other direction, that is, movement out from the Latin colony at Aquileia to other areas of the north. Degrassi, for example, found that, of the many *gentes* then known at Aquileia, 35% occurred also in the epigraphy of the Istrian peninsula.<sup>115</sup> Càssola has more recently traced the diaspora of the *gens Carminia* from the colony.<sup>116</sup> Assuming a certain continuity of residency of at least part of a given family, he uses the Imperial inscriptions of the Veneto to show the presence of *Carminii* throughout the region: at Verona, Ateste, Patavium, Altinum, Tarvisium, between Conegliano and Ceneda, at Bellunum and at Opitergium.<sup>117</sup> Most recently, Cresci Marrone has succeeded in using securely Republican inscriptions to reveal a similar picture.<sup>118</sup> She points to the presence of at least a dozen central-Italic names in the Venetic community of Altinum during the Republic, many of which are well-known to what she calls the prosopography of production and commerce. For example, the *Poblicii* and *Barbii* are also attested at Magdalensberg in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC in connection with the commercialization of *metalla norica*,<sup>119</sup> while the *Cossutii* seem to have been widely involved, as architects, sculptors and marble-merchants, in the many works of urbanization in the Veneto in the same period.<sup>120</sup> Cresci Marrone is right to emphasize the likelihood that the presence of these *gentes* at Altinum represents the emigration of colonists from nearby Aquileia seeking to extend their commercial interests to other parts of the region. Although Aquileia is in many ways an anomaly because of its particular economic importance, a similar pattern of migration out from Roman colonial foundations is nonetheless likely

---

<sup>115</sup> A. Degrassi, 'Aquileia e l'Istria in età romana', in idem, *Scritti vari di antichità*, I (Rome 1962) pp. 951-63 (= *Studi Aquileiesi offerti a G. Brusin* (Aquileia 1953) pp. 51-65).

<sup>116</sup> F. Càssola, 'La colonizzazione romana della Transpadana', (above n. 4) pp. 28-30, where he cites the existence of a *Ti. Carminius Ti. f.*, praetor of Aquileia in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century, as evidence that the *gens* was first settled in the colony at Aquileia (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2648).

<sup>117</sup> *CIL* V: 3751 (Verona); 2588 (Ateste); 2857, 2912-3 (Patavium); 2116 (Tarvisium); 8796 (Conegliano); 1964, 1982, 1989, 1990, 2006 (Opitergium); and *AE* 1981, 419 (Altinum); *AE* 1976, 252 (Bellunum); *AE* 1979, 283 (Opitergium).

<sup>118</sup> G. Cresci Marrone, 'Presenze romane in Altino repubblicana: spunti per una prosopografia dell' integrazione', in *Vigilia di romanizzazione. Altino e il Veneto orientale tra II e I sec. a.C.* (Rome 1999) pp. 121-33.

<sup>119</sup> *CIL* III 4815 = *ILLRP* 1272.

<sup>120</sup> See M. Torelli, 'Industria estrattiva, lavoro artigianale, interessi economici, qualche appunto', *MAAR* 36 (1980) pp. 313ff.; M. Verzar Bass, 'Contributo alla storia sociale di Aquileia

for the other regions of the Po Valley as well, as Ewins has suggested for the penetration of Romans from the Aemilian plain into the Transpadana.<sup>121</sup>

A pattern less connected to Rome's colonial foundations in the Cisalpina but still linked with official state activity is the influx of Romans and Italians to participate in the exploitation of the region's several mining areas. The attraction of the productive mines of the north to immigrants from other parts of Italy has been compared by some modern scholars to an American-style 'gold-rush'.<sup>122</sup> Polybius' remarks on the gold mines of the Norican Taurisci north of Aquileia, as recorded by Strabo, certainly accord with such a picture.<sup>123</sup> According to Polybius, a rich and particularly easily exploitable gold mine was discovered sometime in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century by the Taurisci. In the first instance, the Taurisci had allowed 'Italioes' to work the mines alongside them. But the rush to extract gold from this mine had been so great that, within two months, the price of gold had dropped by one third throughout the whole of Italy. It was for this reason that the Taurisci then threw out their foreign fellow-workers and took complete control of the supply themselves. The rush in this case was short-lived for the Italians, but is an example of the speed and scale of movement that was possible in response to new opportunities to exploit the mineral resources of other areas in the Alpine foothills.

In 143 BC, the gold-mines in the territory of the Salassi in the Valle d'Aosta came under Roman control. The exploitation of these mines was contracted out to *publicani*, who would have brought with them considerable teams of free and slave labour to engage in the extraction of the gold.<sup>124</sup> At some point in the last century of the Republic, the mines of the Val Soana, just over the Gran Paradiso from the Valle d'Aosta, also appear to have come within the Roman sphere. The settlement at Valperga, at the base of the valley below the confluence of the Soana and Orco rivers, is to be connected with the exploitation of the iron and copper mines of the valleys above.<sup>125</sup> The thirty-two late Republican funerary inscriptions from Valperga are surely evidence of late 2<sup>nd</sup> –

---

repubblicana: la documentazione archeologica', in *Les bourgeoisies*, p. 210.

<sup>121</sup> U. Ewins, 'The early colonisation of Cisalpine Gaul', (above n. 70) p. 56.

<sup>122</sup> R. Chevallier, *Aquilée et la romanisation de l'Europe* (Tours 1990) p. 1; F. Càssola, 'La colonizzazione romana della Transpadana', (above n. 4) p. 27.

<sup>123</sup> Strabo 4.6.12.

<sup>124</sup> Strabo 4.6.7.

<sup>125</sup> *CIL* V, p. 769.



early 1<sup>st</sup> century immigration and settlement as a response to such opportunities being newly opened to Romans and Italians.<sup>126</sup> A hint at the scale of such operations and the size of the labour forces involved comes from our references to mines near the trading post of Victumulae, mentioned above. These are the mines that Strabo specifically mentions as having been worked heavily before his time.<sup>127</sup> Pliny, presumably also referring to the later Republic, says that there was an old law limiting the number of men allowed to work the gold-mine at Victumulae to the high figure of 5,000.<sup>128</sup> As for the other known mining areas of the region, those in the foothills of the central Alps above Bergomum and Brixia, though there is no clear evidence, the possibility of similar patterns of immigration here should not be excluded.

Still further patterns of individual migration are probable, but because of the scarcity and/or ambiguity of the evidence are more difficult to identify securely. For example, it was not only Rome's colonial foundations that attracted immigrants. Several of the cities of the Gallic tribes, especially in the Transpadana, appear also to have been magnets for individuals on the move. Strabo's tantalizing notice that Mediolanum had once been just a village, but was by his time a great city points to a high rate of growth whose explanation must include a significant level of immigration in the Republican period.<sup>129</sup> Garnsey has shown the economic importance of Mediolanum under the Principate, emphasizing its trade links not only with the rest of the Po Valley, but also with the rest of the Italian peninsula to the south and with regions beyond the Alps to the north.<sup>130</sup> Unfortunately, the continuity of Milan's size and importance throughout its subsequent history has rendered the epigraphic and archaeological evidence from Roman Mediolanum relatively thin. As a result, it is impossible to identify the immigrants responsible for the growth of the city in the period leading up to its early Imperial prosperity.

---

<sup>126</sup> *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2140-60, 3400-3. These inscriptions are notoriously difficult to date. Mommsen believed they date either to the end of the Republic or to the Augustan age, while Degraffi doubted they were older than the death of Caesar. More recently, G. Cresci Marrone and E. Culasso Gastaldi, in *Per pagos vicosque: Torino romana fra Orco e Stura* (Padova 1988) pp. 54ff., imply a slightly earlier date.

<sup>127</sup> Strabo 5.1.12.

<sup>128</sup> Pliny, *NH* 33.78.

<sup>129</sup> Strabo 5.1.6.

<sup>130</sup> P. Garnsey, 'Economy and society of Mediolanum under the Principate', (above n. 8) pp. 13-27.

Uncertainty also surrounds the development of one of the other major Transpadane centres, that of Verona. It is commonplace to remark upon the early Romanization of that city, with reference above all to the fact that it could produce a poet like Catullus already in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>131</sup> Buchi attempts to explain the phenomenon by pointing to the immigration and settlement of Romans at Verona, predominantly for economic reasons and presumably independent of Roman state activity, in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>132</sup> Wiseman, on the other hand, explains Catullus' very Roman background by pointing to an official program of settlement, both of veterans and of enterprising settlers from Italy, in the territory around Verona in the years after 100 BC, following the defeat of the Cimbri.<sup>133</sup> Though Buchi's picture is in line with the kind of patterns I have tried to reveal for other areas of the north, Wiseman's view of Catullus' background is a convincing one. The hub of the matter seems to be the uncertainty surrounding the fate of Marius' veterans in 100 BC, after Saturninus' legislation for their colonial settlement in the Transpadana was annulled. If Marius, before acting against Saturninus and Glaucia in 100, had managed to extract a senatorial promise that the settlement of his veterans would proceed, then it becomes likely that the early Romanization of Verona can be explained, at least in part, by an official state programme that brought men of Roman and Italian origin to the now vacant lands of this part of the Transpadana.<sup>134</sup> If, on the other hand, the official settlement did not proceed, then the presence at Catullus' Verona of Romans and Italians, whether veterans or other enterprising and economically motivated settlers, must be the result of a pattern of individual migration. However one explains the Roman presence that is the background to Catullus and his poetry, Verona, along with Mediolanum, had by Strabo's time grown into a notably large city.<sup>135</sup> Even if the original settlers at Verona after 100 BC had arrived there as part of a state initiative, it

---

<sup>131</sup> See e.g. M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (above n. 87) p. 81; F. Càssola, 'La colonizzazione romana della Transpadana', (above n. 4) pp. 22-4.

<sup>132</sup> E. Buchi, 'La romanizzazione del territorio veronese', in *3000 anni fa a Verona* (Verona 1976) p. 85.

<sup>133</sup> T.P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his World* (Cambridge 1985) pp. 107-115; *Roman Studies* (Liverpool 1987) pp. 324-34.

<sup>134</sup> For the possibility of a promise extracted from the senate, see M.H. Crawford, *The Roman Republic*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1992) pp. 126-7. For numismatic arguments in favour of Marian settlements in the Transpadana, see M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge 1974) p. 629f. and *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (above n. 87) p. 183.



remains likely that the growth of the city during the last century of the Republic is to be explained by the arrival of significant numbers of individual immigrants. The economic attraction of Verona is easy to see. Linked with many of the colonial settlements in the north by the important *via Postumia* from 148 BC, the large and fertile territory of Verona was also at the base of the route that crossed the Alps at the Brenner Pass. Much of this territory might well have been left vacant after the defeat of the Cimbri in 101 BC and would have offered many new economic opportunities as it was re-settled in the following years.

The patterns outlined above have been mainly patterns of migration *to* a particular place: into the colonies of the north, into the mining areas, into several of the important native centres like Mediolanum and Verona. It is unfortunately more difficult to determine the origin of those who migrated along these patterns, to identify the areas *from* which the individual migrants came. For example, it is impossible to say if a Roman or Italian living in a colonial foundation arrived there as part of the original settlement or immigrated on his own initiative sometime thereafter. Even in the non-colonial areas, where the presence of Romans and Italians must reflect independent mobility, it is difficult to say whether the individuals in question migrated over the long distance from regions south of the Appennines or over the shorter distance from one of the colonial areas of the north, only after a state programme of settlement had facilitated the move from further afield.

This difficulty underlies the vexing question of a possible general trend of migration from central and southern Italy into the Cisalpine region. One way around the difficulty of identifying individual migrants is to look for a net gain in the population of the Po Valley that cannot be accounted for solely by the state-organised programmes of colonization. As part of his minimizing account of the population of Cisalpine Gaul at the end of the Republic, Brunt argues against the possibility of large-scale immigration from central and southern Italy in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries, emphasizing the isolation of the region of the Po Valley and his own view of the general unlikelihood of individual migration over long distances

---

<sup>135</sup> Strabo 5.1.6.

in any ancient context.<sup>136</sup> Bandelli, on the other hand, has recently argued that the population of the Po Valley experienced continuous growth from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and that part of this growth is to be explained by a pattern of immigration from other areas of the Italian peninsula.<sup>137</sup> One piece of evidence that tips the balance in favour of a pattern of immigration from more distant regions of the peninsula is the ownership by several central Italian communities of land in the Po Valley.<sup>138</sup> It is possible that these plots represent the holdings of large landowners who immigrated to the region in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and who then bequeathed their northern holdings to their original communities in central Italy.<sup>139</sup> Though it is true that the migrants in these cases are likely to have represented a relatively small number of men with enough capital to complete projects of drainage or deforestation and to establish themselves on lands thus newly reclaimed, it cannot be excluded that men of lesser means followed the same pattern in search of more modest plots of the fertile Po region, especially in the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century when the growth of large estates in many parts of Italy had made the life of the small-holding peasant there difficult or impossible. Nor does Brunt's argument that only those with considerable capital could afford to establish themselves on new lands far from their community of origin exclude the possibility of an influx of free labour, both to work on the ever-expanding stretches of agricultural land in the north and to engage at various levels in the commercialization of the produce of that land. It will always be difficult to reveal such a pattern with the evidence available to us. But if the picture of significant geographical mobility in this period is accepted, as the other patterns I have described suggest it should, then the independent migration of individuals from central and southern Italy into the region of the Po Valley seems more and more likely.

---

<sup>136</sup> P. Brunt, *IM*, pp. 159-203. Brunt does, however, accept the possibility of shorter distance immigration from Umbria and Etruria, though not on a significant scale.

<sup>137</sup> G. Bandelli, 'La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale', (above n. 2) pp. 189-215.

<sup>138</sup> Pliny, *NH* 3.116 (Aquinum); Cic., *ad Fam.* 13.11.1 (Arpinum), 13.7.1-3 (Atella); *CIL* XI, 1147 (Luca).

<sup>139</sup> M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (above n. 87) pp. 339-40; idem, 'How to create a *municipium*', in M. Austin et al. (eds.), *Modus Operandi. Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman*. *BICS* Suppl. 71 (London 1998) Appendix 1, p. 40.



The fundamental observation behind my view of individual migration into and within the Po Valley is that of the natural excellence and superiority of the region, not in comparison with its counterpart in later periods, but in comparison with the rest of Italy during the period of the Roman Republic. The plain of the Po was larger, more fertile and more productive than other agricultural areas in the rest of the peninsula. It was also rich in mineral resources when compared to the paucity of mining potential in central and southern Italy. This already attractive region then underwent several changes as it was brought within the Roman sphere in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The pre-existing inhabitants, with the exception of the Veneti, were comprehensively defeated and in several cases deported; a series of colonies was sent out from Rome; roads were built across the entire region; and human interventions improved the quality and the extent of cultivable land. The result was the opening-up of new economic opportunities in the north to Romans and Italians. It is from this context that emerge the several patterns of individual migration that I have attempted to reveal: immigration to military/commercial garrisons and emigration away from hostile zones in the earlier period; and in the period from the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century on, migration into and out from the colonial foundations, migration into mining areas and into some of the important native centres, and probably also a general trend of long-distance immigration from central and southern Italy. The level of geographical mobility in the north during this period was high.

So, to return to the two historical problems with which the chapter began: if we accept this picture of significant migration into and within the region of the Po Valley, then we are one step closer to a solution for both. Migration into the north can explain a considerable part of the increase in population between the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; while migration within the region, and more particularly between the colonial and non-colonial areas, can go a long way in explaining how it was that, on the eve of the Social War, even the non-colonial areas of the north looked very Roman.







## Chapter 5

### The private phenomenon enters the political sphere

The previous two chapters have concentrated on two particular regions as case studies in an effort to demonstrate that internal migration was a significant aspect of the political and economic changes that affected many areas of Italy in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and throughout the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and, further, to suggest that this kind of population movement was on a larger scale than is usually accounted for in modern studies of the period. It should be said that the regions of southern Latium and the Po Valley were not chosen out of a suspicion that levels of migration were higher there than they were anywhere else in this period. These two cases were chosen rather as areas from which the available evidence for the phenomenon was more promising. The scope of the present work does not allow for a comprehensive treatment of all the different regions of the Italian peninsula; but there is no reason to believe that individual mobility was any less important a feature across the rest of Italy, though naturally we should expect the patterns of that mobility to differ depending on the geographical context.

The previous two chapters have also focused primarily on the chronologically limited period between the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century, a period for which the evidence reveals a particularly high level of internal migration. It must be added at this point, however, that this type of individual population mobility was neither new nor unique to this period of the history of ancient Italy. On the contrary, Italy appears to have been a place consistently characterized by a high level of geographical mobility right through from the archaic period into the Empire.

Scholars of the archaic period have called upon the evidence of early epigraphical material to reveal examples of exactly the kind of individual mobility we are interested in here. One of the earlier attempts to do so was by Ampolo.<sup>1</sup> He began by stressing the openness to mobility and integration that is

---

<sup>1</sup> C. Ampolo, 'Demarato. Osservazioni sulla mobilità sociale arcaica', *DdArch* 9-10 (1976-77) pp.

reflected in the traditional story about Demaratus and his son, Tarquinius, both of whom migrated – Demaratus from Corinth to Tarquinia, and Tarquinius from Tarquinia to Rome – and successfully inserted themselves in the society of their new communities, Tarquinius obviously to the extent that he rose to hold the highest position of power at Rome. For the phenomenon of Greek aristocrats settling in Etruria, represented in the literary tradition by Demaratus, there seems to be a parallel in the epigraphical record from the so-called Tumulo del Re at Monterozzi. Inside this large and wealthy tomb dated to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century was found a pot whose base carried the inscription *axapri rutilē hipukrates*, of which the second part is a name: *rutilē* a praenomen derived from the Latin adjective *rutilus* and *hipukrates* the transcription into Etruscan of the aristocratic Greek name Ἱπποκράτης.<sup>2</sup> According to Ampolo, this name is that of an Etruscanized Greek aristocrat who had adopted a Latin praenomen.<sup>3</sup>

Likewise for the phenomenon of mobility within Italy in the archaic period, the distribution of identifiable name types in the epigraphical record provides a fair amount of evidence. At Caere, for example, several non-Etruscan names appear on inscriptions of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries: *ate peticina* (Attus Peticius), a name of Italic origin; *kalatur phapena*, which is possibly a Latin *Kalator Fabius*; and *ati cventinasa* (Attius son of *Quintius*); along with a Latino-Faliscan inscription on a dolium recording one *Tita Vendia*.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, as evidence of movement out from Capena, Colonna cites the presence of what he calls ‘Capenate’ inscriptions at Magliano Sabina, Narce, and Tolfa di Ferrone (see Figure 7, p. 127).<sup>5</sup> Similarly, in his recent work on archaic Etruscan inscriptions found outside of Etruria proper, Cristofani points to the early presence of Etruscans, for example, in the Faliscan town of Narce (seven Etruscan inscriptions from the necropolis already in the 7<sup>th</sup> century) and to the mobility of Etruscan merchants and artisans in the 6<sup>th</sup> and early 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, citing the epigraphic testimony of their presence, alongside Greeks and Oscan-speakers, at places like Fratte and Stabia in Campania.<sup>6</sup> This kind of evidence

---

333–45.

<sup>2</sup> *TLE*<sup>2</sup> 155.

<sup>3</sup> C. Ampolo, ‘Demarato. Osservazioni sulla mobilità sociale arcaica’, (above n. 1) pp. 338–9.

<sup>4</sup> *TLE*<sup>2</sup> 865 and 65; for the dolium inscription of *Tita Vendia*, see M. Pallottino, in ‘Rivista di epigrafia etrusca’, *SE* 21 (1950–51) pp. 397–400.

<sup>5</sup> G. Colonna, ‘Un’iscrizione paleoitalica dall’agro tolfetano’, *SE* 51 (1983) pp. 573–87.

<sup>6</sup> M. Cristofani, ‘Etruschi nell’Agro falisco’, *PBSR* 56 (1988) pp. 13–24; and idem, ‘Etruschi e



has been used by scholars of the archaic period to suggest that the nature of the archaic city-state in Italy was such that these places were open to the immigration of individuals into their communities and to the integration of these individuals into the local society.<sup>7</sup>

As we have already seen, the same kind of epigraphical evidence of mobility continues to appear throughout the period of the middle Republic. There is the example of the Lucius Gemenius from Peltuinum found to be at Praeneste and that of the Caius Caesius who moved first into Ancona and thence across the Adriatic to Dyrrhachium, or the names from Praeneste found in several different Italian towns, or those of Aquileia found in Istria and in the town of Altinum, or the *Samnites inquilae* resident at Aesernia and the anonymous *incolae* at Sena Gallica.<sup>8</sup>

Into the late Republic and early Empire as well, it is clear that resident outsiders were a common feature of most Italian communities. In the legal sphere, for example, the expression used to define all the inhabitants of a community in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC was *municipes* (or *coloni*) *incolae hospites adventores*.<sup>9</sup> One very nice example from this later period comes from Interamna, where the gravestone of Lucius Licinius Severus, a soldier, proudly and poetically explains his geographically diverse background: *De genitore mihi domus Umbria, de genetrice Ostia, Tybris ibi vitreus, Nar hic fluit albus*.<sup>10</sup>

On one level, then, there is a certain continuity to the phenomenon of internal migration in Italy. There are at the same time, however, elements of change that must be kept in mind. One is the change in the nature of the political background to the examples of mobility from the archaic period to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries to the end of the Republic. In the archaic period and into the period of the early Roman Republic, the political face of Italy was basically made up of a

---

genti dell'Italia preromana: alcuni esempi di mobilità in età arcaica', in E. Campanile (ed.), *Rapporti linguistici e culturali tra i popoli dell'Italia antica* (Pisa 1991) pp. 111-28.

<sup>7</sup> See, above all, T. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (London 1995) pp. 156-8.

<sup>8</sup> See above, Chapter 2 and, for the spread of *gentilicia* out from Aquileia, Chapter 4.

<sup>9</sup> M.H. Crawford, 'How to create a *municipium*: Rome and Italy after the Social War', in M. Austin et al. (eds.), *Modus Operandi. Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman. BICS Suppl. 71* (London 1998) pp. 34-5. A similar expression had been used by Aristotle in describing the nature of the city: '*poleis* without doubt must contain large numbers of slaves, metics, and foreigners' (*Politics* 1326<sup>a</sup>18-20); see also N. Purcell, 'Mobility and the *polis*', in O. Murray and S. Price (eds.), *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) pp. 54-8.

<sup>10</sup> *CIL* XI, 4188: Umbria was my father's home, Ostia my mother's; there the Tiber flows glassy green, here the Nar flows white.

series of city-states and tribal groupings, and so internal migration then would have meant the move from one city-state or grouping to another. From the later 4<sup>th</sup> century on, after the settlement of 338 BC following the Latin War, the situation was changed by the fact that Rome from that point possessed a territorial empire in Italy and had progressively devised an increasingly complex juridical framework (to which I will return immediately below) through which to maintain control of that empire. Roman-controlled territory at that point was somewhere between a collection of city-states and tribal groupings on the one hand and the beginning of something resembling a nation-state on the other. Later still, of course, in the aftermath of the Social War, the situation changed again as the whole of the peninsula south of the Po, and eventually the rest of the Po Valley as well, was given the full Roman citizenship. In each of these different phases, the implications of a phenomenon that carried individuals across the boundaries of different communities would have changed significantly.

Another important element of change to keep in mind is that in the scale of the phenomenon. As we have already seen in the previous two chapters and will see again in Chapter 7, the scale of internal migration in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC appears to have reached a level considerably higher than that of the preceding centuries. It is this fact that determines the next stage of the present argument.

Up to this point, I have concentrated on the private and individual nature of internal migration, and on the fact that the phenomenon occurred independently of the Roman state. Given the scale of the phenomenon, however, and its potentially disruptive effects, especially when over the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century the scale was on the increase, it is no surprise that internal migration entered also into the political sphere of relations between Rome and her allies in Italy and, at least in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, held an important place on the Roman political agenda with some regularity. This more political side of the phenomenon will be the focus of the following two chapters. The first of these chapters will offer a re-interpretation of the evidence that has traditionally been thought to show the existence of a so-called *ius migrandi*, approaching this very specific institutional problem from the perspective of an Italy in which individual mobility was a more common feature than has usually been thought. The second chapter will then take a step back and examine the wider political implications of



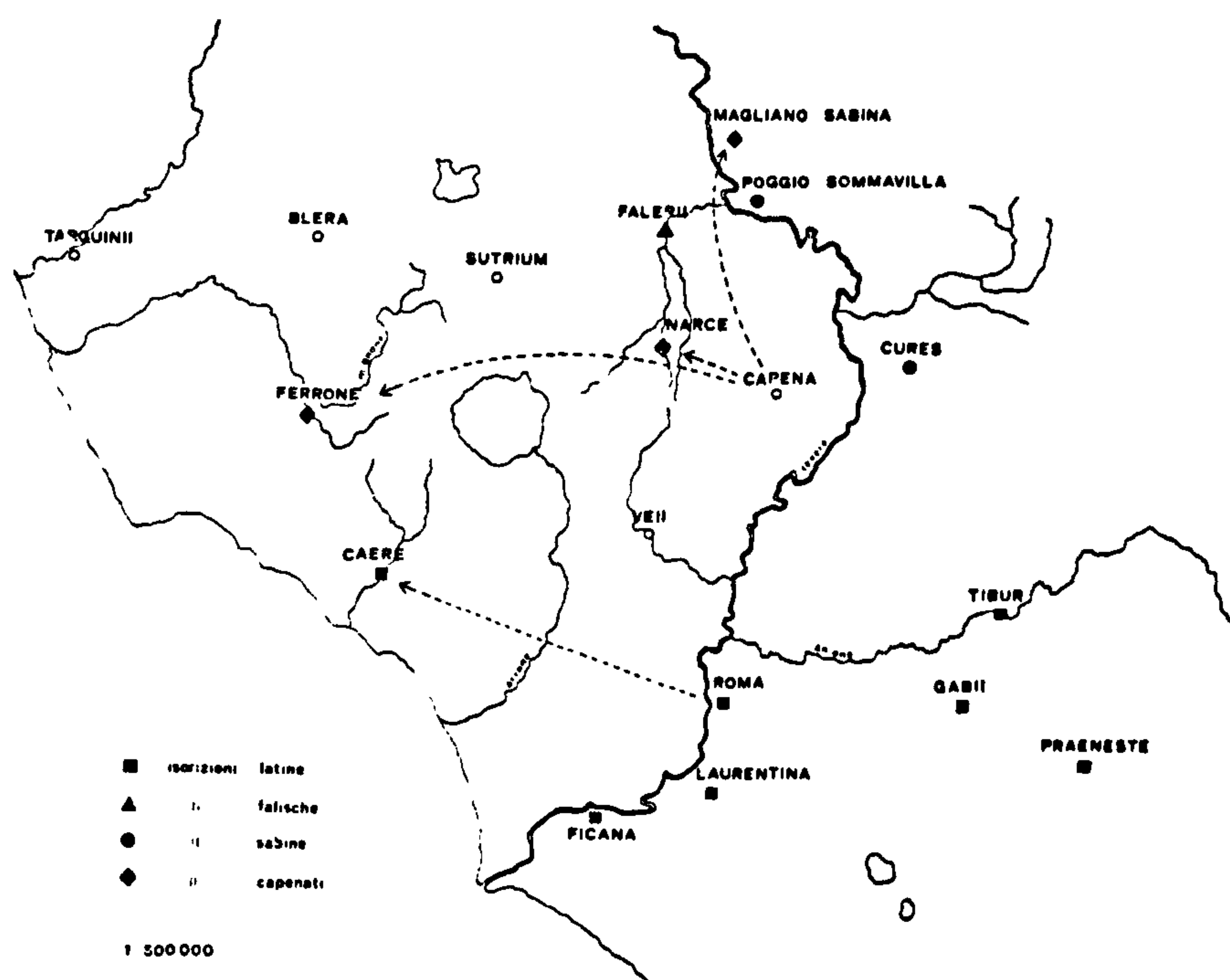
this new view of Roman policy on internal migration in Italy, with particular reference to what was clearly a crisis of migration in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.

The central aim of the following two chapters is to develop an understanding of the relationship between, on the one hand, the system of control established by Rome over her subject allies in Italy during the period of the middle Republic and, on the other, the phenomenon of mobility that paid little attention to the rules of the game under which that system of control operated. From the time of the settlement of the Latins (and others) following their defeat by the Romans in 338 BC, as is well known, the Romans developed a system of control, at that time over central Italy, but eventually over the rest of the peninsula as well, that was based on the direct annexation of some territory, the foundation of Latin and citizen colonies in other areas, and the arrangement of treaties with allied states in yet other areas. This system of control is usually seen as the result of Rome's desire to control large stretches of territory without losing its basic constitutional form as a city-state. Eventually, however, the strain on the system proved to be too great and it was, after a series of crises, abandoned in favour of the unification and municipalization of Italy. One of the problems was the strains caused on the post-338 system by the large-scale independent movement of individuals across the lines established by it.

Essential to the argument in both of the following chapters will be a handful of well known passages from Livy's account of the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> The passages in question are those we have already looked at in which the problem of internal migration showed signs of coming to a head and consequently appeared as a major issue on the Roman political agenda: first in 187 BC, when the complaint of embassies from the Latin colonies resulted in the expulsion of 12,000 Latin immigrants from Rome, and then again in 177 BC, when a second expulsion of Latins took place and tougher measures for the prevention of illegal immigration from Latin colonies were established, while at the same time, a similar complaint of local emigration made by the Samnites and Paelignians appears to have gone without response.

---

<sup>11</sup> The passages in question are given more fully in Chapter 2. They are: Livy 39.3.4-6; 41.8.6-12; 41.9.9-12; and 42.10.3. For a close reading of and commentary on these passages, with some of which I will disagree in the following chapters, see U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio relativi ai rapporti tra Roma e gli alleati latini e italici nel primo quarto del II sec. a.C.', in A. Calbi and G. Susini (eds.), *Pro populo arimense* (Faenza 1995) pp.43-77.



**Figure 7**  
**Non-Etruscan inscriptions of the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries found in southern Etruria, Lazio, and the Sabina**  
*Source: G. Colonna, SE 51 (1983)*



## Chapter 6

### Rome's migration policy and the so-called *ius migrandi*

The institution known to modern scholars as the *ius migrandi* has been the subject of much discussion, appearing as it does, in some form or other, in almost every modern account of Rome's political relations with the various other states of Italy during the Republican period. By contrast, the ancient sources have precious little to say about the legal right – our only evidence for its supposed existence coming from the few passages of Livy relevant to the crises of 187 and 177. As a result, where modern accounts have been based largely on the literary evidence, they have tended to slot the *ius migrandi* into an already developed picture of the institutional-political history of Italy in this period; i.e. they have tended to offer interpretations of the *ius migrandi* that seem most consistent with Rome's other supposed Italian policies, rather than interpretations that are most consistent with actual patterns of migration.

The perspective taken in this chapter is different from the standard institutional-political perspective in that it is based on the evidence of the scale and of the actual patterns of migration as presented in the previous chapters. This fresh perspective suggests a fundamentally different interpretation of the so-called *ius migrandi*, one that is more consistent both with the evidence of mobility in various directions by individuals of various statuses, and with certain otherwise confusing references in the literary sources.

#### *The evidence*

The only direct evidence that there ever existed any legislation specifically governing the ability of an individual to migrate in Republican Italy comes from a single passage of Livy. In 177 BC, for the second time in ten years, an embassy of Latins appeared before the Roman senate complaining that their communities were losing population through emigration to Rome, and that

the emigrants in question had been evading the law regarding migration to Rome.<sup>1</sup> Livy then explains:

Lex sociis ac? (see below) nominis Latini, qui stirpem ex sese domi relinquerent, dabat ut cives Romani fierent.

The law granted to the allies of the Latin name that those of them who should leave behind in their hometown an offspring of their own could become Roman citizens.

Further on in the same passage, Livy records the complaint of the Latin embassy that migrants had not been leaving sons behind, and had simply been transferring to the Roman citizenship *per migrationem et censum*. This phrase seems to have been interpreted by some as part of a legal formula regarding migration,<sup>2</sup> though such an interpretation is far from certain. Beyond these two lines of Livy, there is no other ancient reference to any legal right of migration, a problem that is reflected in the difficulty modern accounts have in discussing what is revealingly referred to as the 'so-called' *ius migrandi* or else is given some impressive sounding fabricated Latin title like the *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae* (or *sedis mutandae* or *mutandae civitatis*) *per migrationem et censum*.<sup>3</sup> Despite the obvious difficulties of the evidence, modern accounts have continued to assume the existence of such a right of migration and have, in fact, developed quite complex histories of the institution.<sup>4</sup>

Not surprisingly, given the state of the evidence, there has been much disagreement in these modern accounts on almost every aspect of the so-called *ius migrandi*. This general state of disagreement has, at least since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, stemmed from the difficulties involved in answering three fundamental

---

<sup>1</sup> Livy 41.8.6ff.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. A.J. Toynbee, *HL*, II, p. 140; A.N. Sherwin-White, *RC*, pp. 110-1.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Toynbee's misleadingly confident glossary entry: '*ius migrandi*; *ius migrationis*: the right to migrate from one state's territory to another's' (*HL*, I, p. 586). The passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (7.18.3) in which, in the context of the early hostilities at Rome between the patricians and the plebeians, the neighbouring towns are alleged to have invited any Romans who wished to come and live in their communities and to take up their citizenship is compatible with just about anything, and so cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of a legal right of migration.

<sup>4</sup> Typical of the subject's treatment are the remarks of F. De Martino, *Storia della costituzione romana*, II<sup>2</sup> (Naples 1973) p. 75: '*Il ius migrandi* . . . non è attestato, ma è presumibile'; and of E.T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (London 1982) p. 183, n. 18: 'Intermigration is not positively testified but can be confidently assumed' (i.e. as part of the relations between Rome and the Latins in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC).



questions: Who possessed the *ius migrandi*? When did the right come into existence? And when and how was it later restricted? The only agreement, it seems, has been on the nature of the right itself. That is to say, all of the accounts known to me interpret the passages of Livy cited above as implying the existence of a legal right – a privilege – possessed by a certain group of individuals, permitting them to change their place of residence and thereby to change their citizenship, with the implication that those individuals not in possession of the right were not permitted to do so. The resulting picture is one in which freedom of movement was the exception, and a restricted ability to migrate was the rule.

My aim here is to argue that this traditional interpretation of Livy's law as a legal *privilege* is supported by no direct evidence and is in fact incompatible both with certain other references in the ancient sources and with the general picture of mobility developed in the previous chapters of the present work. The interpretation of the law mentioned by Livy must instead be as an exceptional *restriction* of mobility for the group of individuals in question. The resulting picture in this case is one in which freedom of movement was the rule, and the restriction of that freedom the exception. The implications of such a picture are significant.

### *Weaknesses of the traditional view*

Perhaps the best way to demonstrate the weakness of the traditional interpretation of the nature of the law mentioned by Livy is through a brief look at the confusion that has arisen in scholarly efforts to answer the three fundamental questions of who possessed the right, when it first came into existence, and when and how it was later restricted.

#### a) Who supposedly possessed the right?

As for the identification of those to whom the law mentioned by Livy applied, and so to whom the supposed right of migrating belonged, opinion is divided between those who believe it applied to the Latins only and those who believe it applied both to the Latins and to the other allies of Rome in Italy. The difficulty here arises from the lack of clarity with which Livy tends to refer to the

juridical groups in question, and more particularly from the uncertainty of the phrase at 41.8.9, which appears in the *editio princeps* as: *lex sociis ac nominis Latini*.<sup>5</sup> Most editors have followed Drakenborch's edition of 1743 in dropping the *ac*, and interpreting *nominis Latini* straightforwardly as genitive with *sociis*, 'the allies of the Latin name'. It has been argued by some, however, either that the *ac* should stay, or that, if we remove the *ac*, the phrase *socii nominis Latini*, here and elsewhere in Livy, must be an example of asyndeton, and so either way refers both to the Latins and to the other allies.<sup>6</sup>

Neither the rest of this passage nor any part of the other Livian passages relevant to internal migration in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century helps in identifying exactly who is meant by the phrase *socii nominis Latini* – Livy's account is unfortunately confusing on this point throughout. In describing the events of 187 BC, he writes first that the senate heard the complaint of embassies *sociorum Latini nominis, qui toto undique ex Latio frequentes convenerant*; but in the very next line refers to the delegates simply as *socii*, before finally adding that as a result of their complaint, 12,000 *Latinorum* were expelled from Rome.<sup>7</sup> When the issue of migration comes up again in his account of 177 BC, Livy records an embassy *socium nominis Latini*, and then mentions a particular complaint of the Samnites and Paelignians, i.e. non-Latin allies. Then we have the problematic line already mentioned, *lex sociis nominis Latini . . . dabat*, followed by two further references to *socii*.<sup>8</sup> When, in the following chapter,<sup>9</sup> Livy treats of the measures actually taken by Rome in 177, he refers first to a law of C. Claudius *de sociis*, then describes the accompanying consular edict declaring that those required to

<sup>5</sup> The only surviving manuscript for Livy XLI-XLV is the *Codex Vindobonensis*, parts of which have been lost since the Froben edition of 1531. One of these parts is precisely here at 41.1-9, hence our reliance upon the *editio princeps*; see J. Briscoe (ed.), *Titus Livii Ab Urbe Condita Libri XLI-XLV* (Stuttgart 1986). For recent commentary on the difficulties of the relevant passages in Livy, see U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio relativi ai rapporti tra Roma e gli alleati latini nel primo quarto del II sec. a.C.', in A. Calbi and G. Susini (edd.), *Pro populo arimenese* (Faenza 1995) pp. 43-77.

<sup>6</sup> The asyndeton view goes back at least as far as O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig 1885) I, pp. 307-8, but has been argued most extensively by M. Wegner, *Untersuchungen zu den lateinischen Begriffen socius und societas* (Göttingen 1969) pp. 95-104, who seems to offer little more than the strength of his own conviction in support of the view that Livy intends the phrase *socii nominis Latini* as an asyndeton in which only the first element, *socii*, is declined. Wegner's conclusions are adopted by the most recent proponent of the asyndeton view, U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio', (above n. 5) pp. 43-77.

<sup>7</sup> Livy 39.3.4-6.

<sup>8</sup> Livy 41.8.6-12.

<sup>9</sup> Livy 41.9.9-12.



return to their hometowns before the Kalends of November would be those *socii nominis Latini*<sup>10</sup> who had been registered *apud socios nominis Latini* in or after the censorship of M. Claudius and T. Quinctius. And finally, in relation to the census of 173, Livy records a further consular edict, that whoever *sociorum Latini nominis* had been ordered to return home by the previous edict of C. Claudius should not be registered at Rome, but each in his own town.<sup>11</sup> Livy seems to use the terms *Latini*, *socii*, and *socii nominis Latini* (or *socii Latini nominis*) almost interchangeably, with the result that his text is of little help in determining whether the law he mentions at 41.8.9 applied only to the category that modern scholars mean when they use the term Latins or whether it applied both to the Latins and to the other allies.<sup>12</sup>

Despite this unfortunate consequence of Livy's flexibility with institutional terminology, modern accounts have continued to cite these passages, alongside some bits of contextual evidence, in arguments on both sides of the question. By far the more common view is that the so-called *ius migrandi* was possessed by the Latins only. This has been the orthodox view at least since Mommsen, who linked freedom of geographical mobility to the ethnic unity of the Latins and Rome, and to the ancient shared rights of the early Latin league.<sup>13</sup> Most have followed suit in associating the supposed right with the Latins, though, given that there is considerable diversity within that category itself, there is much discussion as to exactly which of the Latins possessed the right, a problem relevant to the various views taken on the questions of the origin and later restriction of the right, to which we will turn next. Before moving on, however, it is important to note the opposing view, most recently put forward by Laffi, who argues, using the same passages of Livy, that the right of acquiring Roman citizenship through migration was a privilege possessed not only by the Latins, but also by the other allies.<sup>14</sup> For Laffi, the deciding piece of evidence in favour of this view seems to be the appearance of delegates from the Samnites

---

<sup>10</sup> Here too, the Froben edition preserves the formula *socii ac nominis Latini*. For the widely accepted omission of the *ac* in this case, see J. Briscoe (ed.), *Titii Livii Ab Urbe Condita Libri XLII-XLV* (Stuttgart 1986) *ad loc.*

<sup>11</sup> Livy 42.10.1-4.

<sup>12</sup> T. Mommsen, *RSt*, III, p. 637, n. 6.

<sup>13</sup> T. Mommsen, *RSt*, III, pp. 635-9.

<sup>14</sup> U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio', (above n. 5) pp. 43-77.

and Paelignians in Rome during the crisis of 177 BC,<sup>15</sup> which leads him to adopt the asyndeton view of the troublesome phrase *socii nominis Latini*. But it is far from clear that the *Samnites Paelignique*, who were in Rome to complain of their citizens' emigration to Fregellae, were there as part of, and not independently of, the *legationes socium nominis Latini*. Laffi's position also requires one major leap of faith. In order to make sense of the legislation requiring a migrant to leave a son behind in his community of origin, he argues, as others have, that the law originates with the foundation of Latin colonies by Rome. Thus, if we are to believe that the law by the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century had come to apply both to the Latins and to the allies, we have to believe also that this originally Latin-only privilege was officially extended to the allies at an unknown point sometime in the late 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> Such an extension is not entirely outside the realm of possibility; but there is no trace of it in the surviving record. On balance, the interpretation of Livy's migration legislation as belonging only to the Latins seems to require less manipulation of the unfortunately ambiguous evidence that is actually available.

b) When did the supposed right come into existence?

The second of the central points of debate on the so-called *ius migrandi* is the question of its origin, views of which are directly tied to differing interpretations of who exactly among the Latins enjoyed the right. Here also, two opposing positions have been taken. The first, and more widely accepted, is that the right dates back to the early relations between Rome and the ancient Latin communities of Latium in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, and probably to the *foedus Cassianum* in particular. The second is that it dates instead to the settlement between Rome and the Latins in 338 BC.

The dating of the right of migration back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC is based on the belief that its origin makes most sense in the context of other personal legal privileges, born from a sense of Latin kinship, that were shared by the individual inhabitants of the different Latin communities of early Latium. These are the privileges that have come to be known as the Latin *iura* or the *ius Latii*. In fact,

---

<sup>15</sup> Livy 41.8.8.

<sup>16</sup> U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio', (above n. 5) p. 52: 'Questo privilegio potrebbe poi essere stato esteso a tutti i Latini e in età successiva anche alle comunità italiche, o quanto



despite the scarcity of supporting evidence, it is commonplace in modern accounts confidently to describe the early relations between Rome and the Latins, and between the various Latin communities themselves, as guaranteeing three particular personal privileges to the individual inhabitants of each community:<sup>17</sup> 1) *conubium* or the right of legally contracted intermarriage with an inhabitant of another community; 2) *commercium* or the right to engage in commercial activity and to make contracts recognized as legally binding; and 3) the *ius migrandi* or the freedom to migrate to another community and to take up the citizenship of that community by settling there.

That some reciprocal personal rights existed between the various Latin communities of 5<sup>th</sup> century Latium is almost certain. As is well known, Dionysius of Halicarnassus at several points in his narrative of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century speaks of the relationship of *ισοπολιτεία* established between the Latins and Rome by the *foedus Cassianum* of 493 BC, and later extended to the Hernici by a further treaty in 486.<sup>18</sup> In his incomplete summary of the Cassian treaty itself,<sup>19</sup> Dionysius gives details of a provision concerning the resolution of commercial disputes. This provision is usually considered to have been one of the elements of that early isopolity, and to have been that which was later known as the right of *commercium*. For the other supposed elements of the Latin *iura*, the evidence has to come from a later passage, in which some of those rights were unilaterally removed by Rome. As part of the settlement of 338 BC following Rome's victory over the Latins (and their allies in Latium Adiectum), Livy records that, apart from a few exceptions, the Latin communities were

---

meno ad alcune di esse, con concessioni specifiche.'

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, A.J. Toynbee, *HL*, I, p. 257; Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1965) pp. 38-9; A.N. Sherwin-White, *RC*, pp. 108-16; F. De Martino, *Storia della costituzione romana* (above n. 4) II, pp. 73-8; M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragium* (Rome 1978) pp. 98-122 (Humbert adds the *ius suffragii*, the right of the Latins to vote in the assembly at Rome, to the package of Latin *iura*); E.T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (above n. 4) p. 5; T. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (London 1995) pp. 295-6; A. Lewis, s.v. *ius Latii*, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford 1996); and most recently, the existence of the *ius migrandi* as part of a package of Latin rights in the historical period is also assumed by L. Capogrossi Colognesi, *Cittadini e territorio* (Rome 2000) for example at p. 73, n. 6. This list could be much longer.

<sup>18</sup> Dion. Hal. at, e.g., 6.63.4 (in anticipation of the *foedus Cassianum*), 7.53.5, and elsewhere. The problem of interpreting exactly what Dionysius meant when he used the term *ισοπολιτεία* is discussed at length by M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragium* (above n. 17) pp. 85-135.

<sup>19</sup> Dion. Hal. 6.95.2.

deprived of their *conubia commerciaque et concilia inter se*.<sup>20</sup> A few decades later, the settlement of the partial revolt of the Hernici in 307-6 BC included similar deprivations. While the loyal communities of Aletrium, Verulae, and Ferentinum retained the *conubium*, the people of Anagnia and the other rebellious communities were deprived of their *concilia conubiumque*.<sup>21</sup> Just as these references from the late 4<sup>th</sup> century are used to argue that *conubium* and *commercium* among the Romans, the Latins, and the Hernici existed already from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, so is the reference, from 177 BC, to our piece of legislation regarding migration to Rome used to argue that the privilege known as the *ius migrandi* also existed already from the time of the *foedus Cassianum*.<sup>22</sup> We will come back to look at the problems involved with this view below.

The opposing view, that the *ius migrandi* dates back instead to the settlement of 338 BC, is based on the interpretation of the right as a privilege designed specifically for Romans who had sacrificed their Roman citizenship in order to enroll in one of Rome's new Latin colonies after 338. This view goes back at least to Lange, who argued that around the time of the foundation of Cales (334) and Fregellae (328) the right was thought necessary if reluctant Romans were to be convinced to give up their status and to settle as colonists in the strategically important new Latin colonies.<sup>23</sup> Beloch argued further that placing such a right in the period before 338 BC makes no sense, for two principal reasons.<sup>24</sup> First, he suggested that the Latins would have had no interest in the Roman citizenship in the earlier period, as long as there remained an independent Latin League. And second, he interpreted Livy's phrase *lex sociis nominis Latini . . . dabat* as referring to a specifically Roman law, and so as completely incompatible with the *foedus aequum* that was the Cassian Treaty. Fraccaro took up the same position, adding that Mommsen's early dating of the elements of the *ius Latii* on the basis of the shared Latin 'nationality' of the Romans and Latins fails to account for the inclusion of the non-Latin Hernici on the same terms of the Cassian Treaty from 486 BC.<sup>25</sup> And most recently, Laffi

---

<sup>20</sup> Livy 8.14.10.

<sup>21</sup> Livy 9.43.23-4.

<sup>22</sup> See especially M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio* (above n. 17) pp. 108-22.

<sup>23</sup> L. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer* (Berlin 1879) II, pp. 127-8.

<sup>24</sup> K.J. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte bis zum Beginn der punischen Kriege* (Berlin-Leipzig 1926) pp. 195-6.

<sup>25</sup> P. Fraccaro, 'L'organizzazione politica dell'Italia romana', in *Atti CIRD I* (1934) pp. 195-208,



has sought to defend the 338 BC position, arguing that the view of the *ius migrandi*'s origin as a privilege specifically for ex-Roman settlers in Latin colonies is actually compatible with his view of its having belonged to both the Latins and the allies in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, if, as already mentioned above, we postulate an extension of the privilege to some or all of the allied cities over the course of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries.<sup>26</sup> This argument has the advantage of not having to rely on the tricky concept of Latin ethnic unity and on speculation as to what reciprocal personal privileges might or might not have come along with that unity. But the identification of the *ius migrandi* as a privilege or reward for ex-Roman settlers in Latin colonies runs into several problems, not the least of which is the now widely accepted view that non-Romans were often included as colonists in the foundation of Latin colonies after 338 BC.

c) The alleged later restriction of the right

The third issue that has provoked much debate is the possibility of later changes to the so-called *ius migrandi*, imposed by the Romans as their position in Italy developed during the middle and late Republic; in other words, the question of if, when, and how the right was later restricted and finally removed. The following impressive range of suggestions, all of them again supported by very little evidence (or none at all), can be found in various modern accounts: that the application of the *ius migrandi* was limited in 268 or in 265, that twelve colonies were deprived of the right in 204, that a universal restriction was placed on the right sometime between 187 and 177, that the right was completely abolished either as early as 177 or as late as 95, and that it was then replaced by the so-called *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum*, the right of colonial Latins to become Roman citizens by holding a magistracy in their hometown.

Most of these suggestions come straight from Mommsen, who argued that the previously free and unrestricted right of migration (which, in his view, only ever belonged to the Latins) was limited and then abolished in three stages.<sup>27</sup> The first limitation came, according to Mommsen, when the Romans

---

esp. 197-8 (=P. Fraccaro, *Opuscula* I (Pavia 1956) pp. 103-14).

<sup>26</sup> U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio', (above n. 5) p. 52.

<sup>27</sup> T. Mommsen, *RSt*, III, pp. 637-9.

ceased to grant the right to newly founded Latin colonies from 268 BC on, i.e. beginning with the foundation of Ariminum in that year. This guess is based on his interpretation of the highly problematic passage of the *pro Caecina* in which Cicero refers to a distinct group of twelve Latin colonies and gives the example of Ariminum as one of them.<sup>28</sup> For Mommsen, these twelve colonies were (what he thought to be) the last twelve Latin colonies to be founded in Italy, beginning with Ariminum in 268; hence Cicero's choice of that colony as an example of the group. Further, these twelve colonies were for Mommsen distinct from the other Latin colonies in that they were of an inferior status; and part of that inferiority was that they did not possess the *ius migrandi*. But two fundamental problems with this view have since been pointed out. First, Cicero's remarks actually imply that the twelve colonies to which he refers in that passage were distinct for their *superior*, not inferior, status.<sup>29</sup> And second, if we include Luca (180) on the list of Latin colonies, as most scholars now believe we must, and count beginning from Ariminum, we get thirteen and not twelve.<sup>30</sup>

Those who still want to believe in a restriction of the *ius migrandi* around the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, as part of a general reduction in Latin rights at that time, have avoided the problems of an identification with Cicero's twelve colonies by suggesting the limitation came in 265 instead of in 268.<sup>31</sup> The supporting evidence in this case is again flimsy. In 209 BC, twelve of the then thirty Latin colonies announced that they could no longer supply men for the war against Hannibal.<sup>32</sup> Salmon makes much of the fact that all twelve of these colonies had been founded before 265, and so were suffering depopulation because they were not subject to the restriction, which he believed to have been imposed in that year (265), that all emigrants must leave a son behind in the colony. Salmon then finds further support in what seems to be a

---

<sup>28</sup> Cic., *pro Caec.* 102.

<sup>29</sup> A. Bernardi, 'Ius Ariminensium', *Studia Ghisleriana*, 1 (1948) pp. 237-59 and more recently *Nomen Latinum* (Pavia 1973) pp. 76-91.

<sup>30</sup> A.J. Toynbee, *HL*, I, p. 254.

<sup>31</sup> On this view, Cicero's twelve colonies are the twelve, from those founded before 265, that did not refuse to supply men and money in 209 BC and who as a result suffered neither the punishment of 204 BC, nor the restriction of the *ius migrandi* from 265 on. This is the position originally taken by E.T. Salmon, 'Roman Colonisation from the Second Punic War to the Gracchi', *JRS* 26 (1936) pp. 47-67, esp. 55-61, and followed by A.H. MacDonald, 'Rome and the Italian confederation (200-186 BC)', *JRS* 34 (1944) p. 12. Salmon later modified his view in *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (London 1969) pp. 92-4.

<sup>32</sup> Livy 27.9.7.



misinterpretation of Livy's account of the expulsion of Latin immigrants from Rome in 187. What Livy actually says is that those who were to be expelled were those 'whom or the father of whom the allies could prove to have been registered with them either in or after the censorship of C. Claudius and M. Livius (204 BC)'.<sup>33</sup> Salmon oddly interprets Livy's specification here as referring to the two generations *prior* to the censorship of 204, and so, taking two generations to be equal to sixty years, counts back exactly to 265 BC as the point at which a restrictive change must have been imposed on the exercise of the *ius migrandi*. If there was a restriction in 265 BC, which now seems doubtful, this passage of Livy cannot be used as the evidence for it.

In fact, the passage from 187 seems rather to point to 204 BC as a significant date; and some have indeed suggested that a restriction on migration was imposed in that year. It is true that the twelve recusant colonies of 209 BC were not punished by Rome until 204. Castello has argued that part of the punishment determined in that year was the restriction of the *ius migrandi* for the inhabitants of those twelve colonies.<sup>34</sup> Livy provides a detailed and seemingly thorough account of the punishment of the colonies in 204.<sup>35</sup> Each colony was to provide twice as many infantrymen as they had ever provided in one year in the past, along with 120 cavalrymen; and if a colony could not provide the required 120 cavalrymen, it could provide three infantrymen in place of each lacking cavalryman. A new annual tax of one *as* per thousand would also be exacted from each colony. And further, the census of each colony would in future be carried out according to the Roman formula and would be deposited directly at Rome. For all its detail, Livy's account makes no mention of migration at all in connection with the punishment of 204 BC.

To return to Mommsen's chronology of the right of migration (which does not include the possibility of a restriction in 204), he suggested that a second major restriction of the *ius migrandi* had been imposed in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and for two reasons.<sup>36</sup> First, the Romans had begun to feel that the

---

<sup>33</sup> Livy 39.3.5: *quem C. Claudio M. Livio censoribus postve eos censores ipsum parentemve eius apud se censum esse probassent socii*.

<sup>34</sup> C. Castello, 'Il così-detto *ius migrandi* dei Latini a Roma. Ricerche in tema di concessione e accertamento degli *status civitatis et familiae* dal 338 al 95 av. C.', *BIDR* 61-62 (1958) pp. 209-69, esp. 215-22.

<sup>35</sup> Livy 29.15.5-10.

<sup>36</sup> T. Mommsen, *RSt*, III, p. 638.

unrestricted freedom of migration to Rome that was possessed, in Mommsen's view, by the ancient Latin communities and by the Latin colonies founded before 268 was no longer compatible with Rome's position of dominance in Italy. And second, the depopulation of the towns of Italy and the swelling of the population of Rome in consequence of this freedom of movement had by now reached a point of crisis, as was shown by the complaining embassies of 187 BC. So, according to this picture, sometime just before 177 BC, the restrictive condition that any immigrant to Rome must leave a son behind in his hometown was imposed on all those who at that time still possessed the full right of migration. This has become perhaps the most common interpretation of the important line of Livy that we have mentioned several times already: *lex sociis nominis Latini, qui stirpem ex sese domi relinquerent, dabat ut cives Romani fierent*.<sup>37</sup> But it has been argued that it would be surprising if Rome had created such a clause sometime just before 177 and then ignored it completely in 177 by expelling immigrants from Rome regardless of whether or not they had legitimately satisfied the new condition on their immigration.<sup>38</sup> Several have thus preferred instead to regard the *stirps* clause as a restriction imposed at 'an uncertain date'.<sup>39</sup> Others still, emphasizing the fact that this passage of Livy is our only direct reference to legislation on migration, argue that the *stirps* clause is not a later restriction of the right, but had always existed as the condition on which the right could ever be exercised.<sup>40</sup>

Scholarly discord also surrounds the question of the ultimate removal of the so-called *ius migrandi*. One view has the exercise of the right coming to an end, apparently *de facto* rather than necessarily *de iure*, already in or shortly after

---

<sup>37</sup> Livy 41.8.9. This interpretation has been adopted, for example, by A.H. McDonald, 'Rome and the Italian confederation (200-186 BC)', (above n. 31) p. 21; G. Tibiletti, 'Ricerche di storia agraria romana', *Ath* 28 (1950) pp. 183-266, esp. 213, n. 4; and A.J. Toynbee, *ILL*, II, pp. 137-141, who puts the restriction in 187 BC.

<sup>38</sup> M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio* (above n. 17) pp. 115-7.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. F. De Martino, *Storia della costituzione romana* (above n. 4) II, p. 99; F. Sturm, 'Conubium, ius migrandi, conventio in manum', in R. Ganghofer (ed.), *Le droit de la famille en Europe* (1992) p. 722, n. 23.

<sup>40</sup> M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio* (above n. 17) p. 116; E. Frézouls, 'Rome et les Latins dans les premières décennies du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.', *Ktema* 6 (1981) pp. 119-21; and especially U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio', (above n. 5) p. 52, where he remarks frankly: 'Quali sono le testimonianze relative al godimento da parte (per lo meno) dei Latini di un illimitato *ius migrandi* per il periodo anteriore alla *lex* citata da Livio? La risposta è semplice: non vi è nessuna testimonianza.'



177 BC.<sup>41</sup> The measures Livy records as having been passed in that year, however, are simply against the evasion of the condition placed upon potential migrants and in fact give the impression of an expectation that legal immigration to Rome will continue in future.<sup>42</sup> Added to which, the absence of Livy's text for the period from 167 on is a silent, but significant obstacle in the way of any positive suggestion that internal migration had ceased by the middle decades of the century. Mommsen believed instead that the right of migrating survived in some form into the 1<sup>st</sup> century and was finally abolished by the *lex Licinia-Mucia* of 95 BC.<sup>43</sup> This belief is based on an apparent implication in Cicero's *pro Balbo*. In discussing the ability of Latins to acquire Roman citizenship as a reward for successful prosecution in the *repetundae* courts, Cicero stresses that this path to the citizenship remained in place under the *acerbissima lex Servilia* and that it was not even revoked by the *lex Licinia-Mucia*.<sup>44</sup> The implication, for Mommsen, is that some other path to the citizenship was revoked by the *lex Licinia-Mucia* and that the path in question was that through migration to Rome and registration in the census there. Sherwin-White is more cautious on this point. He notes that the references we actually have to the *lex Licinia-Mucia* can by themselves neither prove nor disprove Mommsen's view. Given what we know of the nature of the law, however, i.e. that its main concern was to prevent illegal acquisition of the Roman citizenship, it is unlikely, according to Sherwin-White, that the law included any provision relevant to the *ius migrandi*, as the censors already had the means to check illegitimate claims to the citizenship through migration.<sup>45</sup>

Sherwin-White suggests instead that the demise of the so-called *ius migrandi* is to be placed earlier, towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>46</sup> His suggestion is that the right had come to be replaced by a new element of the Latin *iura*, namely the right of individual Latins to gain the Roman citizenship by holding a magistracy in their hometown – the *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae*

---

<sup>41</sup> See E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford 1958) p. 150, who is criticized by Sherwin-White for taking 'a somewhat more cynical view of Roman goodwill in the second century than is always justified by the evidence'; see RC, p. 215.

<sup>42</sup> Livy 41.9.11-12.

<sup>43</sup> T. Mommsen, *RSt*, III, p. 639 and n. 10.

<sup>44</sup> Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24.54.

<sup>45</sup> Sherwin-White, RC, p. 111.

<sup>46</sup> Sherwin-White, RC, p. 111-2 and 214-5.

*per magistratum*. According to Sherwin-White's view, this new right was in existence already by the time of the *lex Acilia repetundarum* of 122 BC, and so the *ius migrandi* must have disappeared at that time or soon thereafter. But two points cast significant doubt on such a picture. The first is the argument of Bradeen, which highlights the weakness of the evidence from the Republican period and suggests that the right of gaining the citizenship *per magistratum* did not exist at all until the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC at the earliest.<sup>47</sup> The second point is that the beneficiaries of the right of acquiring citizenship *per magistratum* were obviously the élites of the Latin communities, whereas those who were migrating to Rome came predominantly from the lower ranks of Latin society, as is clear from the scale of the phenomenon. To consider the right of acquiring citizenship *per magistratum* and the supposed right of acquiring citizenship through migration as both belonging to the same linear progression of Roman policy on the citizenship is to ignore the different statuses of the individuals involved. The appearance of the *ius adipiscendae civitatis Romanae per magistratum*, therefore, even if it did belong in the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, would tell us little about changes in Roman policy on migration.

The uncertainty here, and the more general problem of the scarcity of sources for the period after 167, is reflected in the vague and now fairly common view that the right of migrating somehow disappeared over the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and early 1<sup>st</sup> centuries.<sup>48</sup>

### *A different perspective*

Up to this point, I have sought simply to demonstrate the difficulties that have arisen in previous efforts to understand even the most basic elements of the so-called *ius migrandi*. The problems arise, in my view, from the universal interpretation of the nature of the institution as a *privilege*, an interpretation that is difficult to reconcile with the evidence as we have it. As we have seen, it is not easy to develop a coherent picture of who would have possessed such a

<sup>47</sup> D.W. Bradeen, 'Roman citizenship *per magistratum*', *CJ* 54 (1958-9) pp. 221-8.

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., Sherwin-White, *RC*, p. 110-1: 'This right of gaining the franchise *per migrationem et censum* had disappeared by the time of the Social War'; or M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio* (above n. 17) p. 109: 'Au début du II<sup>e</sup> siècle, des abus auraient entraîné les Romains . . . à réduire l'exercice de ce droit, puis, sans doute, à le faire disparaître complètement



privilege, or of a point at which it would have made sense for such a privilege to have come into existence, or of when and why such a privilege would later have been restricted and/or abolished. Furthermore, if the ability to migrate, at least to Rome, was a personal legal privilege possessed by a certain group of individuals, the implication is that the natural state of things for those who did not possess the privilege was one in which individual migration was not a possibility. If this were the case, our impression of Roman policy on internal migration would have to be a negative one. In other words, we would have to think of Rome as a city generally opposed to the immigration of outsiders except in cases where a specific privilege existed. Many scholars have tended inexplicably to extend this kind of impression to the rest of the Italian peninsula as well, reinforcing a general picture of individual geographical mobility in Italy as a rare occurrence, a possibility for only a minority of individuals in possession of a particular legal privilege allowing them to change residence.

Such a picture is not at all consistent with the evidence, presented in chapters 3 and 4, of a high level of internal migration in most areas of Italy during the Republican period. This evidence, when considered alongside the difficulties that arise in attempts to understand the so-called *ius migrandi* as a privilege, begins to suggest that the legislation mentioned by Livy regarding immigration to Rome is not evidence of some traditional *privilege* of migrating, but is rather the expression of a specific *restriction*, placed on a certain group of individuals, of an otherwise unrestricted freedom of movement between the communities of Italy. The suggestion can be developed further, first by taking a closer look at the evidence for those privileges that do appear as instruments of inter-state relations (among which the *ius migrandi* is never mentioned), and second by calling on the not insignificant evidence for a general attitude of openness to migration on the part of the Roman government.

That the granting and removing of certain individual legal privileges was used by Rome as an instrument of foreign policy, and particularly of inter-state relations within Italy, is in some cases beyond doubt. As noted above, early relations between Rome and the Latin states are commonly described as

guaranteeing a package of such privileges, usually thought to have consisted of *conubium*, *commercium*, and the so-called *ius migrandi*. The problem here is that although the rights of *conubium* and *commercium* several times appear side by side in the sources, and more than once in association also with the further right of assembly, they are never once associated with any right of migration.

The evidence comes from three episodes in Livy.<sup>49</sup> The first is Livy's seemingly thorough account of Rome's settlement with the Latins in 338 BC. As is well known, the senate on that occasion decided to deal individually with the different peoples (*de singulis nominatim populis*) who had just been defeated by Rome. Livy's account goes first through the punishment of the various Latin communities and then covers the treatment of the Campanians and the peoples of southern Latium. At the end of the section regarding the defeated Latin states, having already given the details of several specific punishments, Livy adds: 'As for the rest of the Latins, they were deprived of the rights of *conubium*, *commercium*, and assembly amongst themselves.'<sup>50</sup> The second episode relates to another inter-state settlement, namely the treatment of the Hernici following the short-lived war waged by certain of their communities against Rome in 306 BC. In this case, those of the Hernici who had *not* taken up arms against Rome – Aletrium, Verulae, and Ferentinum – had their own laws restored to them and were allowed *conubium inter ipsos*,<sup>51</sup> whereas those who had declared war against and then surrendered to Rome were forced to accept *civitas sine suffragii latione*, were deprived of *concilia* and *conubia* (presumably amongst themselves on the one hand and between themselves and the loyal Hernici on the other), and were allowed no magistrates except those in charge of sacred rites.<sup>52</sup> The third relevant episode is the later, comparative case of the settlement of Macedonia in 167 BC after the defeat of Perseus.<sup>53</sup> In this case, Livy records that Paulus, after announcing that Macedonia was to be free, but was to be divided into four separate and autonomous regions, added that '*neque conubium neque*

<sup>49</sup> We have already seen that Dionysius' account of the *foedus Cassianum* (6.95.2) provides details only of the right that seems to have become *commercium*; but his account is incomplete.

<sup>50</sup> Livy 8.14.10: *Ceteris Latinis populis conubia commerciaque et concilia inter se ademerunt.*

<sup>51</sup> Livy 9.43.23: *Hernicorum tribus populis, Aletrinati Verulano Ferentinati, qui id maluerunt quam civitatem, suae leges redditae, conubiumque inter ipsos, quod aliquamdiu soli Hernicorum habuerunt, permissum.*

<sup>52</sup> Livy 9.43.24: *Anagninis quique alii arma Romanis intulerant civitas sine suffragii latione data concilia conubiaque adempta et magistratibus praeter quam sacrorum curatione interdictum.*

<sup>53</sup> Livy 45.29.1-14.



*commercium agrorum aedificiorumque inter se* should be enjoyed by anyone beyond the boundaries of his own region.’<sup>54</sup>

In each of the three episodes, we see the Romans using as an instrument of Roman foreign policy the granting and removing of those privileges that modern scholars usually associate closely with the supposed privilege of migrating. In none of the cases, however, is there any mention whatsoever of an accompanying privilege guaranteeing the ability of individuals to migrate, either to Rome itself or from one to another of any of the communities involved. Given the total absence of any supporting evidence, we must dismiss the orthodox view in which the supposed privilege known as the *ius migrandi* was part of a package of inter-state personal privileges shared by Rome and the Latins, or by anyone else for that matter.

That an explicit privilege of migrating should *not* have been a constituent part of Rome’s inter-state settlements actually makes perfect sense if we consider the nature of those rights that are in fact mentioned by Livy, i.e. *conubium*, *commercium*, and the right of assembly. What all three have in common is the creation of close bonds – familial, economic, and political – between individuals of different communities. They are in effect channels of alliance between two different states, and in particular between members of the élites of two different states. All three contribute to the development of shared interests across the boundaries of different communities, which, if the communities in question were hostile to Rome, would represent a potential threat. As is commonly remarked, the removal of these privileges by Rome is simply good old fashioned ‘divide and rule’.<sup>55</sup>

The act of changing residence by migration, on the other hand, is different from these others in two ways. First, migration to a new community did not necessarily involve the maintenance of an official bond with the former community. In fact, the Roman view, which we will look at more closely in a moment, seems rather to have been that migration to and registration in a new community necessarily involved the forfeiture of the individual’s previous

---

<sup>54</sup> Livy 45.29.10: *Pronuntiavit deinde neque conubium neque commercium agrorum aedificiorumque inter se placere cuiquam extra fines regionis suae esse.*

<sup>55</sup> See Sherwin-White, *RC*, pp. 113-4, and S. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy Books VI-X*, II (Oxford 1998) p. 567, both of whom, however, believe the supposed right of migration was among the privileges removed in the implementation of such a policy.

citizenship.<sup>56</sup> Second, – and more important in the context of foreign policy designed to prevent the teaming up of potentially hostile states against Rome – the individuals who chose to migrate are likely to have come mainly from the more modest social ranks of their community, and so to have operated below the radar of Roman paranoia. On the other hand, those individuals who were in a position to marry across community boundaries, or to buy property in another community, or to arrange and participate in inter-state *concilia* will in the majority of cases have belonged to the upper social ranks of their community, and so will have represented the more likely potential agents of a concerted uprising. From the perspective of a Roman policy of ‘divide and rule’, individual geographical mobility was not seen as something that had to be regulated in the same way as the potentially dangerous creation of familial, economic, and political ties between states of dubious loyalty. There is simply no evidence of Rome, or of any other state in Italy, maintaining as a general policy that freedom of movement should be a privilege for a certain group of individuals, with the implication that geographical mobility should not be a possibility for those outside the privileged group.

In fact, the evidence of Rome’s traditional openness to immigrants points in exactly the opposite direction. From as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, as we noted above in Chapter 5, there is evidence of a great deal of horizontal mobility, not only into Rome itself but between many of the major cities of central Italy.<sup>57</sup> Several examples of names of foreign origin appear among the archaic epigraphic evidence from centres like Caere, Orvieto, and Veii; while at Rome there are the obvious cases of the Etruscan Tarquins, the Sabine Appius Claudius, and the diversity of name-types on the 5<sup>th</sup> century consular *Fasti*. This kind of evidence has been used to develop a picture of archaic central Italy in which internal migration, not only of aristocrats like Tarquinius but also of individuals of lower social rank, occurred regularly and with ease. And what is

---

<sup>56</sup> Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 11.27ff.

<sup>57</sup> It is worth noting here, however, that this openness and freedom of mobility would in some cases have been qualified by the potentially intolerant *de facto* reaction of local inhabitants to immigrants coming to live in their towns. In the later case of the Umbrian immigrants at Narnia in 199, for example, we know that the people of Narnia did not particularly *like* having outsiders move in; but this reaction is far from being evidence of any legal restriction against immigration to the Latin colony there.



important for our question, the phenomenon was not limited to any particular privileged group, but occurred even across ethnic boundaries.

This is exactly the kind of situation described in the speech Livy puts in the mouth of the tribune G. Canuleius in the context of the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century conflict between the plebeians and the patricians at Rome.<sup>58</sup> The basic argument at the beginning of the speech is that the patricians must despise the plebeians very profoundly indeed, since they persist in prohibiting the plebeians from sharing in the consulship, despite the fact that, in the not distant past, even foreigners were allowed into Rome and were raised to positions of the highest power – men like Lucius Tarquinius (an Etruscan of Corinthian descent), or Titus Tatius, Numa Pompilius, and the Claudii (all from Sabine territory). Further along, Canuleius adds that the patricians were in no position to insist that the consulship remain ‘pure’ as many of them were themselves of Alban or Sabine origin.

Thus both the reality, as represented by the epigraphic evidence, and the later Roman perception, as represented in this case by the speech Livy creates for Canuleius, contribute to a picture in which archaic Roman society, and more generally archaic central Italian society, was decidedly open to individual geographical mobility and to the integration of individual immigrants into their new communities. That such a picture continues to be valid after the archaic period, and indeed right through the rest of the Republican period, is demonstrated by the well-known section of Cicero’s *Pro Balbo* in which he expounds the Roman legal principles governing change of citizenship through change of residence.<sup>59</sup>

For his services in the war against Sertorius (79-72 BC), Balbus had been rewarded with an individual grant of Roman citizenship from Pompey, which had then been legally confirmed by the *lex Gellia Cornelia* of 72 BC. In the trial of 56 BC, the prosecution challenged Balbus’ claim to the citizenship on the grounds that his community of origin, i.e. Gades, had never expressly accepted the *lex Gellia Cornelia*. In his defense, Cicero eventually argued that there was nothing about the relationship between Gades and Rome that prevented a citizen of the former from transferring to the citizenship of the latter. But first, by

---

<sup>58</sup> Livy 4.3-5.

expounding the traditional Roman legal principle on change of citizenship, Cicero emphasized the importance of the wishes of the individual (*privatorum voluntas*) in the transferring of residence and citizenship:

Iure enim nostro neque mutare civitatem quisquam invitus potest neque, si velit, mutare non potest, modo adsciscatur ab ea civitate, cuius esse se civitatis velit. . . Duarum civitatum civis noster esse iure civili nemo potest; non esse huius civitatis, qui se alii civitati dicarit, potest (27-8).

For, by our law, a man cannot change his citizenship against his will, and, if he should wish to change it, he cannot be prevented from doing so, provided he be adopted by that state of which he should desire to become a citizen. . . Our civil law does not allow any Roman citizen to hold the franchise of two states, but to cease to be a citizen of our state is possible for anyone who has attached himself to another.

This freedom of the individual to determine whether or not to change his citizenship is described as 'the unchanging foundations of our liberty'.<sup>60</sup> There is then a remark of Cicero that is striking for the picture it presents of a general openness, not only of Rome but of other states as well, to the reception of new citizens:

Nam cum ex omnibus civitatibus via sit in nostram, cumque nostris civibus pateat ad ceteras iter civitates, tum vero, ut quaeque nobiscum maxime societate, amicitia, sponsione, pactione, foedere est coniuncta, ita mihi maxime communione beneficiorum, praemiorum, civitatis contineri videtur (29).

For since from every state there is a road to ours, and since a way is open for our citizens to other states, then indeed the more closely each state is bound to us by alliance, friendship, contract, agreement, treaty, the more closely it seems to me to be associated with us by sharing our privileges, rewards, and citizenship.

At several points in this part of the speech, Cicero implies that a background of general openness had held true throughout the history of Rome right up to his own day. Early on he says that his speech for the defense will consist of a discussion of 'the law, the treaty, the precedents, and the *timeless* custom of our

---

<sup>59</sup> Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 19-37.

<sup>60</sup> Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 31: *Haec sunt enim fundamenta firmissima nostrae libertatis, sui quemque iuris et retinendi et dimittendi esse dominum.*



citizenship'.<sup>61</sup> A little later, he gives examples of the historical openness of Rome to the reception of new citizens even from among enemies, ranging from the early treaty of Romulus with the Sabines, through to Marius' grants of Roman citizenship to individual citizens of Iguvium and Camerinum at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>62</sup> It is true that Cicero slips from discussing change of citizenship through change of residence into discussing extensions or individual grants of citizenship that were not necessarily accompanied by a change of residence. But as far as a Roman policy on the immigration and integration of new citizens is concerned, his remarks are consistent in their support of a picture in which that policy was, as a rule, an open one.<sup>63</sup>

### *What is the lex of Livy 41.8.9?*

If we accept this general picture of the openness of Rome throughout its history, then what are we to make of the law recorded by Livy at 41.8.9? If the general state of things in Italy was one of openness to mobility and change of citizenship, a piece of legislation guaranteeing that openness to one particular group of individuals would have been redundant and nonsensical. The fact remains, however, that Livy does describe some legal arrangement governing migration to Rome. If it is not to be interpreted as a privilege granted to the particular group of individuals that Livy names, then how is it to be interpreted?

A first clue comes from another of Cicero's points in defense of Balbus. As part of the prosecution argument that a citizen of a community linked to Rome by treaty could not become a Roman citizen without the consent of the community of origin, the prosecution had cited Rome's treaties with the Cenomani, the Insubres, the Helvetii, the Iapudes, and with some of the

---

<sup>61</sup> Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 17: *De lege, de foedere, de exemplis, de perpetua consuetudine civitatis nostrae renovabo ea, quae dicta sunt.*

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the amazement expressed by Philip V, in his well-known letter of 214 BC (*SIG*<sup>1</sup>, 543), at the rapid growth of Rome and at Rome's openness even to manumitted slaves.

<sup>63</sup> Temporary periods of conservatism on the part of the Roman government, probably corresponding to the ascendancy of the more conservative contingent among the ruling class, are to be expected and do little to change the basic picture of openness. See U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio', (above n. 5) p. 77, for the suggestion that there may have been a temporary closing-up under the influence of the conservative Cato; and see E. Badian, 'Roman politics and the Italians (133-91 BC)', *DdArch* 4-5 (1970-1971) p. 382, for the view that it was only as a reaction to the Gracchi that Rome became more exclusive towards the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and that that exclusivity did not last beyond the Social War.

barbarians of Gaul, all of which apparently contained particular clauses to that effect. Cicero responded simply: 'But if a limiting clause (*exceptio*) makes admission to citizenship unlawful, then, where there is no limiting clause, admission must be lawful'.<sup>64</sup> Cicero's point here is perfectly consistent with a context in which there existed particular agreements or pieces of legislation that *limited* the freedom of movement of a particular group of individuals, with the clear implication, as Cicero himself points out, that where such legislation was not in place, individual freedom of movement must have been the rule. So, rather than being a piece of enabling legislation, could the law mentioned by Livy be instead another example of a limiting clause, an *exceptio*?

A second clue lies in a piece of comparative evidence from the Greek world of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. In an inscribed version of the law establishing their colony at Naupaktos, the East Lokrian authors of the law express a clear desire to maintain the colony's population.<sup>65</sup> In particular, the law includes a clause specifying that if a colonist at Naupaktos wished to return home to East Lokris, and wished to do so without having to pay a penalty, he had to leave an adult son or brother behind in the colony. This clause has understandably been compared with the law mentioned by Livy at 41.8.9: *Lex sociis nominis Latini, qui stirpem ex sese domi relinquerent, dabat ut cives Romani fierent*.<sup>66</sup> As we have already seen above, some scholars have thus connected the law mentioned by Livy with the foundation of Latin colonies by Rome, and so believe the origin of the law to have been in or shortly after 338 BC.<sup>67</sup> But these same scholars, surprisingly, stray from the Naupaktos analogy by emphasizing the ability to move to Rome as a privilege possessed by the colonial Latins alone, rather than following the Naupaktos example more closely in placing the emphasis instead on the maintenance of colonial populations and so on the restriction, placed on

---

<sup>64</sup> Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 32: *Quod si exceptio facit ne liceat, ubi non sit exceptum, ibi necesse est licere*. See G. Luraschi, *Foedus, ius Latii, civitas* (Padua 1979) pp. 41ff. for the argument that the inclusion of such a limiting clause in a treaty is to be interpreted as a sign of respect on the part of the Romans for the sovereignty of the allied community in question; i.e. treaties with such clauses are to be considered more favourable, not less.

<sup>65</sup> SIG 47, ll. 7-8. See also R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (eds.), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1969) #20, pp. 35-40, and A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester 1964) pp. 40-68 and 224-32.

<sup>66</sup> For example, by G. Tibiletti, 'Ricerche di storia agraria romana', (above n. 37) pp. 213-4, n. 4, and M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio* (above n. 17) pp. 116-7, n. 92.

<sup>67</sup> L. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer* (above n. 23) II, pp. 127-8; K.J. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte* (above n. 24) pp. 195-6; P. Fraccaro, 'L'organizzazione politica dell'Italia romana', (above n. 25)



colonial Latins alone, that they could move to Rome *only* if they left behind a son. Thus, as we have seen, their view holds that the law was designed to attract otherwise reluctant potential colonists, i.e. to be a kind of reward for colonial Latins who are thought, according to this view, to have come almost exclusively from among the Roman citizen body and so to have sacrificed their Roman citizenship in order to serve the state in a Latin colony. The problem with this view is its inconsistency with the picture of Rome's general openness to immigration from all quarters, not just from a privileged few communities.

Interpreting the law recorded by Livy as a kind of limiting *exceptio* rather than an enabling privilege not only avoids this problem, but is also more consistent with the nature of Latin colonial foundations. As is well known, the colonies of Latin status founded by Rome between the later 4<sup>th</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> century were established on, and in some cases beyond, the fringes of Roman territory, each having a clearly discernible strategic purpose at the time of its founding. In this context, the 'reward' for Latin colonists was the plot of land each received in the new colony. In return for which, the colonist would take on certain military obligations, perhaps the most important of which was under no circumstances to weaken the manpower of the outpost by abandoning the colony and taking the family too.

There is plenty of evidence for the Roman state's concern to maintain the manpower of her Latin colonies. What seems sometimes to be forgotten, however, is the fact that, on several occasions when crises of manpower were brought to its attention, the Roman senate took direct control of the demographic situation in the otherwise autonomous Latin colonies. Perhaps the most striking case is that of Placentia and Cremona. In 206 BC, delegates from the two Latin colonies on the Po appeared before the senate at Rome complaining that incursions by neighbouring Gauls had prompted the emigration of a large number of their colonists, leaving their cities thinly-populated and their territories deserted. The Roman response was first for the praetor Mamilius to be sent to protect the colonies themselves, and then for a consular edict to be issued on the authority of the senate 'to the effect that all citizens of Cremona and

Placentia were to return to their homes before a certain date'.<sup>68</sup> What action was taken to implement the edict at that time we do not know. But we are told that eight years later, and after several further clashes with the Gauls of the Po valley, firm and direct executive action was taken by one of the Roman consuls: '[Sextus Aelius] spent almost the whole year compelling (NB: *cogendis*) the people of Cremona and Placentia to return to the colonies from which they had been scattered by the dangers of war.'<sup>69</sup> The obligation of colonial Latins to remain in the colony as part of the whole settlement deal is in this case very clear.

In other cases too, though the solutions adopted might have been different, Rome again stepped in to take direct control, consistently revealing an attitude that the population of its colonies remained part of the business of the Roman state. Nor should the fact that the Roman authorities were sometimes ignorant of demographic crises in the colonies – until alerted to them by the appearance at Rome of the relevant colonial delegates – diminish our appreciation of the usually firm official response.<sup>70</sup> Probably the best known example of direct Roman intervention in the regulating of colonial manpower is that of the punishment, in 204 BC, of the twelve Latin colonies who had claimed, in 209 BC, that they could no longer provide men for the Roman army in the fight against Hannibal. Part of the punishment was that the twelve colonies would in future have to carry out their local censuses according to the Roman formula and that the results of these censuses would have to be sworn to by the censors of the colonies and deposited by them directly at Rome.<sup>71</sup> The example of Narnia in 199 BC also shows the Roman state responding to the worries of a Latin colony by intervening directly. The delegates from Narnia had complained that their colonists were not up to number and that some non-colonists who had moved into the colony were behaving as if they were colonists. The Roman

---

<sup>68</sup> Livy 28.11.11: *consules ex senatus consulto edixerunt ut qui cives Cremonenses atque Placentini essent ante certam diem in colonias reverterentur*. If we understand Livy as literally as possible, it would seem that those subject to the order to return were those who were *still* citizens of Cremona and Placentia, i.e. those who had not yet registered themselves at Rome or elsewhere, where ordinarily a censor would, in theory at least, have made sure that a son had been left behind in the colony and that the transfer of citizenship was thus legitimate.

<sup>69</sup> Livy 32.26.3: [*Sex. Aelius*] *totum prope annum Cremonensibus Placentinisque cogendis redire in colonias, unde belli casibus dissipati erant, consumpsit*.

<sup>70</sup> For the apparently frequent Roman senatorial ignorance of crises of manpower in the colonies, see G. Tibiletti, 'Ricerche di storia agraria romana', (above n. 37) pp. 197-8.



response was for a board of three men to be created ‘to deal with these things’, i.e. to investigate the demographic problems of Narnia on behalf of the Roman state.<sup>72</sup> In this case, the solution finally adopted was one that Rome would use on several occasions to replenish demographically weakened Latin colonies: the *deductio* of a *supplementum*. Similarly in the case of the crises of 187 and 177 BC, Rome was again prepared to take direct steps to maintain the manpower of her Latin colonies, on these two occasions expelling thousands of colonial Latins from Rome and forcing them to return to their depleted colonies.<sup>73</sup> It is worth noting as well that when, in 177, delegates from the allied Samnites and Paelignians also complained that they were losing their citizen manpower, the senate appears not to have taken any measures to come to their aid. Each of these cases fits perfectly well with a context in which the only instances of migration that the Roman state cared to prevent were those in which colonial Latins emigrated from their colonies without leaving an able replacement behind and thereby weakened the manpower of Rome’s strategic outposts.

In such a context, the law mentioned by Livy at 41.8.9 – that (only) those Latins who left behind a son could become Romans – is best interpreted as a restriction, as a limiting clause written into the charters of Latin colonies founded by Rome. What Livy describes is a qualified obligation that formed part of the *leges datae* of colonial foundations of Latin status. As such, its origin should be placed in the years following the settlement of the Latins in 338 BC, when the Roman state was in the process of appropriating for itself the institution of the Latin colony, and so of appropriating also the natural concern of a mother city for the manpower of its colonial foundations.

This interpretation avoids the confusion that has arisen amongst the various scholarly efforts to make sense of the law when interpreted as a privilege. Seen instead as a restriction, the law can be reasonably associated with the colonial Latins only, whose ability to emigrate the Romans had every reason to want to restrict. As a restriction imposed on colonial Latins, the origin of the law can also be placed with confidence at the time when Rome was taking complete control of the foundation of colonies of Latin status. And, since the law

---

<sup>71</sup> Livy 29.15.9-10.

<sup>72</sup> Livy 32.2.6-7: *earum rerum causa tresviros creare L. Cornelius consul iussus*.

<sup>73</sup> Livy 39.3.4-6; 41.8.6-12, 9.9-12.

mentioned by Livy was only ever a restriction, the debate over if, when, and how the ability of the Latins to migrate was limited by the Roman state becomes meaningless.

The so-called *ius migrandi* is an invention of modern scholarship based on the misinterpretation of a few scraps of evidence. No such right of migrating ever existed between Rome and any of her allies in Italy during the Republican period. The orthodox view of the institution must be discarded, and with it, the view of Roman policy towards migration as one in which freedom of movement was granted only to a certain privileged group of individuals.



## Chapter 7

### The crisis of migration and the political response

The interpretation of Roman policy towards individual migration that was developed in the previous chapter presents a picture of Rome in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century different from that which is usually presented. As we saw in the particular case of Rome's relations with the Latin colonies, Rome was not taking control of the situation by restricting a previously unlimited privilege, but was struggling, and failing, to enforce a long-standing obligation.

The present chapter widens the scope and considers the role of internal migration, and the difficulties posed by the phenomenon, in the more general political development of the Roman state in the middle Republic, and especially in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. At the centre of attention is the conflict between two central features of the period. On the one hand is the phenomenon of individual migration, which, as has been argued throughout the present work, was on a large scale and was in the majority of cases motivated by the pursuit of better economic opportunities on the part of individuals of modest social rank. On the other hand is the particular system of controlling the Italian peninsula that was set up and exercised by the Romans from the later 4<sup>th</sup> century BC on – a system of control based on the foundation of Latin and Roman colonies and the establishment of treaties with other communities, and, importantly, reliant upon the mutually beneficial cooperation of the Roman ruling class and the local élites both of the colonies and of the allied communities. The result of the conflict between these two features revealed the increasing inability of Rome's middle Republican system of government to control the human map of Italy.

#### *Demographic awareness:*

We should not be surprised to find a rather high level of awareness of local population size on the part of the authorities in the communities of Italy.

The majority of towns in question were of a small enough size for demographic change to be readily apparent. The movement into or out of town by even a relatively small number of families would, in most cases, not have gone unnoticed. Beyond this awareness by simple observation, there is also plentiful evidence for the desire of local authorities, both at Rome and in the various other communities of Italy, to keep accurate records of the human resources of their respective citizen bodies through the carrying out of regular censuses. The case of Rome itself is the most obvious. The regular census of Roman citizens, carried out every four years (later every five), when circumstances allowed, is one of the more famous institutions of the Republican period. The list of census figures that have survived in the literary and epigraphic record is our best source of evidence for the population of Roman Italy, and, by comparison, for the population of the rest of the ancient Mediterranean world as well. That list of surviving figures shows the Roman census having been carried out with regularity through most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC.<sup>1</sup> Maintaining an accurate record of the size of the citizen population thus appears as a continuing concern of the Roman state throughout the period in which we are interested here. There also survive several references to severe punishment for non-registration, from which we get an idea of how important it was to the Roman authorities to have as accurate as possible a figure for the Roman citizen population.<sup>2</sup>

That the Latin colonies also carried out a local census, even if it did not necessarily follow the Roman formula in every detail, is equally clear.<sup>3</sup> The authorities of the colony at Narnia knew in 199 that their population was not *ad numerum*;<sup>4</sup> while the delegates representing all the Latin colonies in 187 were

---

<sup>1</sup> See P. Brunt, *IM*, Table I, pp. 13-4.

<sup>2</sup> The punishment is usually given as sale of the individual *incensus* into slavery with the accompanying loss of citizenship, i.e. *capitis deminutio maxima* (Cic., *Pro Caec.*, 99; Gaius 1.160; *Tit. Ulp.* 11.11; Zonaras 7.19). Dion. Hal. 4.15.6 includes the whipping of the *incensus*. The severe punishment recorded at Livy 1.44.1 (chains and death) is discounted by *Roman Statutes*, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> That the method of census in the Latin colonies differed in some detail from that followed at Rome is shown by Livy's account of the punishment of the twelve colonies that had refused to continue supplying men and money in 209 BC (Livy 29.15.9-10): part of the punishment was that those colonies would, from 204 on, have to carry out their local censuses according to the formula provided by the Roman censors, and that that formula be the same as the one used for the Roman people (*censumque in iis coloniis agi ex formula ab Romanis censoribus data – dari autem placere eandem quam populo Romano*).

<sup>4</sup> Livy 32.2.6.



able to produce lists of immigrants at Rome who had been registered in their local colonial censuses in or after 204 BC:<sup>5</sup>

Q. Terentio Culleoni praetori negotium datum est ut eos conquireret, et quem C. Claudio M. Livio censoribus postve eos censores ipsum parentemve eius apud se censum esse probassent socii, ut redire eo cogeret, ubi censi essent.

The task was given to the praetor Q. Terentius Culleo of searching these migrants out and of forcing to return to the place where they had been registered any whom, or the father of whom, the allies proved to have been registered in one of their cities in or after the censorship of C. Claudius and M. Livius (204 BC).

For the non-Latin allied communities, the evidence is not as good, but still points to the existence of a local census as a likely institutional feature in most places well before the extension of the Roman census to the new *municipia* following the Social War.<sup>6</sup> In 177 BC, the Samnites and Paelignians, for example, claimed to have known how many of their citizens (*milia quattuor familiarum*) had emigrated to Fregellae.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, in the period just before the Social War, the little Lucanian town of Bantia had a local census in place, as well as a severe punishment for non-registration.<sup>8</sup> Even if the procedure for the census that is preserved in the *lex Osca Tabulae Bantinae* was based in practice on the model of the Latin colonial census, it nonetheless shows a local allied government eager to maintain an accurate record of the size of its citizen population.

*Concern to prevent emigration from local populations:*

---

<sup>5</sup> Livy 39.3.5.

<sup>6</sup> That the bureaucratic terminology of the census spread out from Rome, to much of the Oscan-speaking world at least, before the Social War is suggested by the borrowing into Oscan of the terms *census* and *censor*; see J. Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen* (Heidelberg 2000), s.v. *O.censaum* and *O.kenzsur*, pp. 382-3 and 385-6.

<sup>7</sup> Livy 41.8.8.

<sup>8</sup> *Roman Statutes*, #13, ll. 18-23; and pp. 273-6 for the probability of a date just before the Social War. E. Lo Cascio, 'I *togati* della *formula togatorum*', *AIIS* 12 (1991-4) p. 324, n. 57, has suggested further that the severity of the punishment for *incensi* in the case of Bantia is to be explained by Rome's demand that each of the allied states register and report the total number of recruitable men in their community.

A number of cities, most notably Rome itself and a few other increasingly important commercial centres, were experiencing rapid population growth in this period. For the rest of Italy, in the vast majority of communities, the attention to human resources that is reflected in the widespread carrying out of local censuses can be linked to a worry on the part of local authorities about decreasing populations. There are a number of indications that the élites in the various Latin and non-Latin allied communities of Italy in the middle and late Republic were particularly concerned to prevent the decreases in local population that resulted from the emigration of their citizens. As we saw in the previous chapter, Rome's colonial settlements had as part of their foundation charters an obligation for settlers to remain in the colonies unless, by leaving a son behind in their place, the emigrating colonists could guarantee the maintenance of the colony's manpower. When in the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century that obligation came to be widely ignored, the élites of the colonies took action in an attempt to have their populations restored and the obligation better enforced.

We have also seen the same kind of concern for the maintenance of local population expressed by two of Rome's allies in northern Italy, the Cenomani and the Insubres (as well as by a few other peoples beyond the Alps) in the formulation of their treaties with Rome. The concern in these cases is reflected by the inclusion in the treaties of a saving clause that the Romans were prohibited from admitting to the Roman citizenship any emigrants from among the citizenry of those peoples.<sup>9</sup> One of the surviving municipal charters from the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the *lex Tarentina*, can also be interpreted as reflecting the concern of local governments to prevent the emigration of their citizens. The last surviving lines of the charter preserve a clause reflecting some sort of legislation that put conditions on the ability of an individual citizen to emigrate from the municipium of Tarentum:<sup>10</sup>

quei pecuniam municipio Tarentin[o] non debebit, sei quis eorum quei  
municeps erit neque eo sexennio [p]roxumo, quo exeire volet, duovirum . .

<sup>9</sup> Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 32. For this interpretation of the clause, see above all G. Luraschi, *Foedus, ius Latii, civitas* (Padova 1979) pp. 41-56, 96-101.

<sup>10</sup> *Roman Statutes*, #15, ll. 43-4.



Whoever shall not owe money to the *municipium* of Tarentum, if any of them who shall be a *municeps* and [shall not have been] a duovir [or aedile] within those six years next preceding when he shall wish to leave . . .

The *lex Tarentina* is obviously the charter of a Roman *municipium* after the Social War; but the clause governing emigration could reflect a kind of provision in place in Roman and Latin communities of an earlier period. It could, in fact, be part of a version of the qualified obligation of Latins to remain in their colonies that we identified in the previous chapter. The mention of a mandatory *sexennium* between the holding of the office of duovir or aedile and the potential emigration does not necessarily mean that the clause is directed only at potential emigrants from among the ruling class of the *municipium* and not at potential emigrants from the lower classes as well. At any rate, the clause is consistent with the preoccupation of many Italian communities outside Rome with preventing, or at least limiting, emigration as part of a general effort to maintain local populations.

*Why the concern to prevent emigration from local populations?*

An important preliminary step in coming to an understanding of the attitudes of the various authorities involved when the problem of migration came to a head is understanding what was at stake, i.e. appreciating the nature of the problems that were caused for local communities by the draining away of their populations through emigration.

As far as Livy's account of the phenomenon is concerned, it was the threat to their ability to meet Rome's demands for military manpower that was the primary concern for the Latin and allied élites whose communities were suffering from emigration. In the passage relating to 177 BC, the delegates who had come to Rome from all the Latin colonies emphasized the point, complaining that 'if the trend of emigration were allowed to continue, within a very few census periods, it would be the case that deserted towns and deserted territories would not be able to produce a single soldier.'<sup>11</sup> In the very next line, the representatives of the Samnites and Paelignians also make the link between their

---

<sup>11</sup> Livy 41.8.7: *quod si permittatur, perpaucis lustris futurum, ut deserta oppida, deserti agri*

demographic problem and their provision of soldiers for the Roman levy.<sup>12</sup> Many modern accounts of the political side of the phenomenon have as a consequence also focused on the problem of military manpower as the only cause for concern.<sup>13</sup>

Without doubt, the effect of migration on the ability to mobilize troops efficiently was the one (and important) negative consequence of the phenomenon that affected both the Roman state and the governments of the various local communities who were losing citizens through emigration. That the embassies at Rome should have emphasized this aspect of the problem is not surprising, as it was surely the one most likely to provoke a favourable response from the senate. As always, however, it is important here to think beyond the Romano-centric perspective of the historical tradition and to consider what the socio-economic effects of the phenomenon would have been on the local level in the Latin and non-Latin allied communities of Italy.

Frézouls, as part of an argument to which we will return below, has suggested that the loss of a significant chunk of citizens through emigration was actually in itself no bad thing, and that the phenomenon of emigration might even have had certain positive aspects for those who remained behind.<sup>14</sup> Frézouls seems here to be thinking of the situation from the perspective of a local landowner eager to increase his holdings within the territory of his own community. For someone in this position, there would understandably have been some positive aspects to the departure of large numbers of the local population, especially if those who departed either abandoned or sold off cheap whatever small-holdings they might have had before leaving town. But there is obviously only a certain point to which the thinning of a population is advantageous to those left behind. Beyond this point the further loss of population becomes a problem. Frézouls' view implies the belief that the communities of Italy in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century had not yet reached this point. In other words, if we are to

---

*nullum militem dare possint.*

<sup>12</sup> Livy 41.8.8.

<sup>13</sup> For example, A.H. McDonald, 'Rome and the Italian confederation (200-186 BC)', *JRS* 34 (1944) p. 21; A.J. Toynbee, *HL*, II, pp. 136ff. See below.

<sup>14</sup> E. Frézouls, 'Rome et les Latins dans les premières décennies du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.', *Ktema* 6 (1981) pp. 115-32, esp. p. 122. Likewise, A.H. McDonald, 'Rome and the Italian confederation (200-186 BC)', (above n. 13) p. 21: the local élites 'would scarcely feel concern at the loss of these elements of their population, with their proletarian character, unless the migration affected their own basis of mobilisation.'



accept his view that emigration was tolerated and maybe even welcomed on the local level, we have to believe that most of the communities in question – including the Latin colonies and the upland communities of the Samnites and the Paelignians, to name those mentioned specifically by Livy – were in the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century suffering from overpopulation and that their resources were consequently stretched. It is hard to believe that very many towns in Italy were experiencing this kind of situation in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Such a view is certainly difficult to reconcile with the case of the Latin colonies, where the local governments were, on the contrary, struggling across the board to maintain the numbers of population with which they had been founded. We need only remember the case of the twelve Latin colonies who in 209 BC insisted that their communities simply could not supply any more soldiers for Rome, or the cases of the several colonies that requested *supplementa* in the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>15</sup>

It seems to me more likely that, behind the shared concern for the supply of military manpower that is recorded by Livy, the élites of the various Latin and non-Latin allied communities of Italy had very real concerns for the socio-economic health of their own respective towns. Here again, however, we run into the problem of the scarcity of evidence for the non-Roman perspective of events in this period. Some remarks can nevertheless be made in an effort to understand why the trend of emigration from certain places was causing the kind of local panic that must have been the motivation for the repeated complaints before the Roman senate about loss of citizens through emigration.

One explanation that can be discarded as inconsistent with the nature of internal migration is that proposed by Castello.<sup>16</sup> He argues that those who were moving in this period from the Latin and allied towns of Italy into Rome were wealthy individuals, and consequently that the problem for the local towns was the loss of their most distinguished citizens and the simultaneous impoverishment of their communities as a result of the transfer of wealth from them to Rome through the emigration of these distinguished, and wealthy, citizens. His argument is based on an unrealistic view of the role of the census in

---

<sup>15</sup> Livy 27.9.7-14 (209 BC). See above, Chapter 2, for the *supplementa* of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

<sup>16</sup> C. Castello, 'Il cosiddetto *ius migrandi* dei Latini a Roma. Ricerche in tema di concessione e accertamento degli *status civitatis et familiae* dal 338 al 95 av.C.', *BIDR* 61-62 (1958) pp. 225-6

the process of migration to Rome. It is true that part of the complaint of the Latins in 187 and 177 was that the immigrants to Rome had been registered in the census there;<sup>17</sup> but there is no reason to leap, with Castello, from this point to the conclusion that the immigrants must have been well-to-do.<sup>18</sup> Nor is there any support for his belief that only those immigrants with wealth enough to qualify for one of the five propertied classes would have been allowed to register in the Roman census.<sup>19</sup> It might have been the case that the residents of Roman territory who were too poor to qualify for one of the five census classes were exempt from tribute and military service, and were relegated to a voting group that lacked any influence whatsoever in the *comitia centuriata*; but the poor were nonetheless registered in the census, as their collective name - the *capite censi* - suggests. There is no reason to believe that immigrants with little or nothing to their name were not likewise registered among the *capite censi*.<sup>20</sup> As I have already argued, internal migration was a predominantly lower class phenomenon. The problem posed by emigration for the communities of Italy should then be related predominantly to the loss of citizens from the lower ranks of the local society, not the higher.<sup>21</sup>

The economic and social impact of the loss of a significant portion of the members of the lower social strata from the Latin and non-Latin allied communities of Italy is not hard to imagine. Many of these communities will already have felt the negative demographic effects of losing their young men to death in battle or to extended service with the Roman army. For these places, the loss through emigration of further citizens from lower social strata would have

---

and 230-1.

<sup>17</sup> Livy 39.3.4; 41.8.7.

<sup>18</sup> C. Castello, 'Il cosiddetto *ius migrandi*', (above n. 16) pp. 225-6. I see no explanation for Castello's leap from his initial (inaccurate) observation that 'l'acquisto dello *status civitatis*, per iscrizione nelle liste del censo da parte dell'immigrato e domiciliato in Roma presupponeva che il richiedente avesse una certa quantità di beni,' to his conclusion, 'Insomma chi chiedeva la sua cittadinanza doveva essere abbiente.'

<sup>19</sup> C. Castello, 'Il cosiddetto *ius migrandi*', (above n. 16) pp. 230-1. The reference (p. 230, n. 83) to the treatment of *incensi* is irrelevant.

<sup>20</sup> The concept of *domicilium* as distinct from ownership of property or level of wealth was clearly defined at least by the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; see Y. Thomas, '*Origine*' et '*commune patrie*'. *Étude de droit public romain* (89 av. J.-C.-212 ap. J.-C.) (Rome 1996) esp. pp. 34-43.

<sup>21</sup> The loss of some members of a local ruling class to emigration is, of course, not to be excluded as a possibility. One of the suggested interpretations of the aristocratic houses at Fregellae that were converted into *fullonicae* in the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century is, after all, that their aristocratic owners had moved on to bigger and better things at Rome. For the evidence of these houses, and for some scepticism of the above interpretation, see above, Chapter 3.



begun to hinder the ability of those left behind to produce enough for their own survival and so to maintain local economic vitality. The emigration of those at the very bottom of the social scale would have meant at the least the loss of labour for local farms and the consequent difficulties for agricultural production; while the emigration of those a little higher up the scale would also have meant the loss of potential taxpayers. Since the local élites were ultimately responsible for the pay of the troops their communities provided for service in the Roman army, the loss of potential taxpayers would have placed the burden even more heavily than usual on those members of the élites who remained.<sup>22</sup>

Significant losses of citizens of modest social standing, and the consequent shift in the demographic balance of the local society, would in addition have threatened to weaken the traditional social structures upon which the position of a local élite was founded. As did Rome, the various communities of Italy had their own city-state institutions, the maintenance of which was a prerequisite for the maintenance of the social position of the élites. Depopulation as a result of the emigration of their lower classes threatened to disrupt the functioning of these institutions and so in turn represented also a personal threat to the members of the local élites who remained behind in the affected communities.<sup>23</sup>

The potential economic and social impact of large-scale emigration on the communities of Italy, and especially on their local élites, was great. It is no wonder then that these local élites showed such concern to halt the trend of emigration. The potential threat to the mobilization of troops from Italy was just a part of that concern. The Latin and non-Latin allied authorities would have been struggling also with the much more fundamental concern for the economic and social life of the communities they governed. There are, after all, several examples of Italian communities – Roman, Latin, and non-Latin – that are attested in one way or another as not having survived the earlier hostilities and later economic changes of this period and as having declined into obscurity by the time of the late Republic. We have already noted above the evidence for the decline of numerous communities in the general vicinity of Rome itself.<sup>24</sup> To

---

<sup>22</sup> E. Gabba, 'Rome and Italy in the second century B.C.', in *CAH*<sup>2</sup>, VIII (1989) pp. 223-4.

<sup>23</sup> A.J. Toynbee, *HL*, II, pp. 138-9.

<sup>24</sup> See above Chapter 3.

these cases we can add several well-known examples of decline from other areas of Italy. On the Etrurian coast, the Latin colony at Cosa had ceased to exist as a populated urban centre by the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.<sup>25</sup> Likewise from the south of Italy, there are several sites that by the late Republic had either shrunk to minor stop-over points on a road – like Baletium in Apulia – or had been given over to a single private villa – like the Lucanian site of Civita di Tricarico – or had become obscure minor settlements – like several of the once great Greek colonies along the Ionian coast.<sup>26</sup>

*Difficulty of preventing emigration on a local level:*

The picture we have so far is one in which the local authorities of the average community in Italy took great care to maintain as accurate as possible a record of their community's human resources – i.e. they paid close attention to the size of their population and would have noticed changes to it – and in which the various communities in question had good reason to be concerned if their records, or even their simple observation of the situation around them, began to show a significant decrease in the size of the local population as a result of emigration. Thinking about the next stage, still on the local level, it is very difficult to imagine what practical steps the local authorities could possibly have taken to prevent emigration from their communities. Short of incarceration or a threat of property confiscation (irrelevant in the case of the property-less and of those who had already sold what local property they might have had), there is very little a community could ever do locally to prevent one of its residents from leaving town.

Even in the cases we looked at above in which certain communities were aided by inter-state (i.e. beyond local) regulations designed to prevent the emigration of their citizens, – the obligation of Latin colonists to remain in their

---

<sup>25</sup> See M.H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome', *JRS* 71 (1981) p. 157.

<sup>26</sup> For Baletium, see J. Boersma and D. Yntema, 'The Valesio Project: Fourth Interim Report (campaigns of 1987 and 1988)', *BABesch* 64 (1989) pp. 134-59; cf. D. Yntema, *In Search of an Ancient Landscape: the Amsterdam Free University Field Survey at Oria Province of Brindisi South Italy (1981-1983)* (Amsterdam 1993) esp. pp. 209ff. For Civita di Tricarico, see O. de Cazanove, 'Le site lucanien de Civita di Tricarico: entre hellénisation et romanisation', *RA* (1996) pp. 200-10. For the Greek colonies, see Strabo 6.1.11, where he says that the Achaean cities of the coast, with the exception of Tarentum, 'no longer exist' (οὐκ εἰσὶν); on Croton, cf. Livy 23.30.6, 24.3.1.



colony and the treaty arrangements between Rome and the Cenomani, Insubres, and others – the practical enforcement of those regulations could only have been achieved by the authorities of the community *to* which the emigrant had moved, and only at the point when he officially registered as a resident there. In other words, the successful enforcement of the regulations in the cases of the Latin colonies or of the Cenomani and Insubres was dependent entirely upon the discretion of the censors at Rome. As Castello rightly points out, the investigation that a censor would have had to carry out to make sure that an immigrant from a Latin colony, for example, had legitimately observed the regulation requiring him to leave a son behind in his colony was not a simple one; and there was little motivation, legal or other, for the censors, who were not accountable to anyone, actually to carry out the necessary checks.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the series of Latin embassies to the senate to complain of emigration shows how easy it appears to have been for migrants to evade (or ignore) the regulation and how difficult it was for the authorities to enforce it.

In practice, there was precious little that community authorities could do on the local level to prevent the emigration of their own citizens, even where emigration was in theory restricted. Their powerlessness is reflected in the sense of frustration that comes across in Livy's account of the embassies that appeared before the senate in 187 and 177 to complain about the problem.<sup>28</sup> That same powerlessness to prevent emigration on the local level also meant that what had begun as a local socio-economic problem for the authorities of the various individual communities of Italy very quickly became a farther-reaching political problem. The repeated appeals made by the affected communities put pressure on Rome to do something about the trend and thus represented a potential problem for the political balance in Italy at this time. In other words, the problem of migration represented a challenge to the smooth functioning of the system of control which Rome had established and maintained over most of the rest of Italy since the later 4<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>27</sup> C. Castello, 'Il cosiddetto *ius migrandi*', (above n. 16) pp. 226-7.

<sup>28</sup> Livy 39.3.4-6; 41.8.6-12. For example, in 177 (41.8.6), Livy records that the delegates 'had wearied both the censors and the previous consuls, and had finally been brought in to the Senate'

*The crisis – principles and practical responses:*

There are two sides to this challenge that must be considered if we are to understand the wider political impact of the phenomenon. The first regards the aims of the leading parties, the élites of the various Latin and allied states on the one hand and the Roman ruling class on the other, and how the nature of their relationship relates to the problem raised by the mobility of the Latin and non-Latin allied lower classes. In other words, from what political perspective did they each approach the problem of migration? The second side of the crisis is, in a way, dependant on the first and concerns the practical measures taken by the Roman state in response to the appeals for help from its allies in Italy. The argument here necessarily relies heavily on the two passages of Livy which provide an account of the episodes of 187 and 177 BC, in which delegates of Rome's Latin colonies (in both episodes) and of the allied Samnites and Paelignians (in 177) appeared before the senate and forced the problem of migration onto the Roman political agenda, complaining of emigration from their towns, asking for and, in the case of the Latins, being granted the repatriation of their emigrant citizens. Most modern attempts to provide an analysis of these episodes and of what they tell us about the relations between Rome and her allies in Italy in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century have followed closely the text of Livy. To the one theory that has not, that of Frézouls, we will return in due course.<sup>29</sup>

The more traditional view is that developed notably by McDonald and Toynbee.<sup>30</sup> Their picture is one in which the Roman ruling class and the local élites of Italy in effect conspired against the lower-class migrants in order to preserve the (for the Roman and allied élites) mutually beneficial arrangement through which the Roman state controlled Italy with the cooperation of those local élites. The basic lines of this interpretation focus on the Latins (we will come back to the case of the allied communities below) and are as follows. The Latin élites sent representatives to Rome because they were concerned about

---

*(et censores et priores consules fatigaverant, tandem in senatum introductae).*

<sup>29</sup> E. Frézouls, 'Rome et les Latins', (above n. 14) pp. 115-32. The article by U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio relativi ai rapporti tra Roma e gli alleati latini e italici nel primo quarto del II sec. a.C.', in A. Calbi and G. Susini, *Pro populo arimense* (Faenza 1995) pp. 43-77, is also fundamental (and innovative) on many of the details of the Livy passages, but in terms of the wider picture of political relations differs little from the traditional view.

<sup>30</sup> A.H. McDonald, 'Rome and the Italian confederation (200-186 BC)', (above n. 13) pp. 11-33; A.J. Toynbee, *HL*, II, pp. 136-51.



losses of local manpower through emigration and were worried that they might end up like the leaders of the twelve Latin colonies which were punished in 204 BC for not having been able to provide soldiers for the Roman army in the middle years of the Hannibalic War. Once the Latin representatives had made their appeal to the senate, the members of the Roman ruling class were then faced with a dilemma. The addition to the Roman citizen body of thousands of immigrants was actually in their political interest since it decreased the proportional burden of the military levy on Rome's own citizens, the voters. At the same time, however, maintaining the relationship with the local élites was essential if the Roman state was to guarantee its ability to mobilize troops from Italy in the future. The Roman senate decided in the end that maintaining the relationship with the local élites of Italy was more important than alleviating some of the military burden on its own citizens and so decided to 'violate' the rights of thousands of immigrants by expelling them from Rome. Such a violation could easily be justified as it came on the initiative of and with the connivance of the local élites themselves. Thus – and this is the real focus of the traditional argument – the expulsion of Latins from Rome in 187 and 177 is to be explained not as a sign of Rome's growing oppressiveness towards her allies in Italy, but as an example of the desire of the Roman ruling class and the local élites of Italy to preserve their mutually beneficial political relationship – beneficial for the Romans because it guaranteed the supply of manpower, and for the allies because it guaranteed their power and prestige in Italy, even if that was to the detriment of their own lower classes.<sup>31</sup>

Frézouls presents a very different interpretation of the passages in Livy relevant to the expulsions of 187 and 177.<sup>32</sup> In my view, his argument is ultimately unconvincing, but does succeed in shedding a different light on the episodes in question here. His suggestion is that Livy's account of the episodes of the Latin embassies to the Roman senate and the subsequent expulsions of Latin immigrants are not at all likely to be an accurate reflection of the reality of those episodes. More precisely he suggests that the version we have in Livy is

---

<sup>31</sup> A.H. McDonald, 'Rome and the Italian confederation (200-186 BC)', (above n. 13) p. 22: 'For the sake of their own position in the confederation and its military organisation, regardless of the fresh economic developments, the Latin nobles gave up the rights of their citizens under the treaties and sacrificed the social interests of their lower classes.'

<sup>32</sup> E. Frézouls, 'Rome et les Latins', (above n. 14) pp. 115-32.

the result of rewriting by the senatorial historical tradition in order to make the senate appear to have been nothing but fair in dealing with the migration crisis. So, his reconstruction is that the Latin embassies did not ask the senate for the repatriation of their emigrant citizens, whom the Latin élites were not at all bothered about losing to Rome (see above), but asked instead for a revision of the proportional burdens for the provision of manpower from Italy. The senate, having no intention of carrying out such a revision, and at the same time eager to rid the city of Rome of unwanted Latin immigrants, turned the request of the Latin embassies against them and imposed on them instead the forced repatriation of their former citizens.

Frézouls' suspicion of the account in Livy comes from two observations. First, the senate remains unusually passive and silent in these passages. The major decision is made (twice) to expel Latins from the city without any hesitation or debate on the part of the senate and without any attempt to seek an alternative solution to the crisis. Second, the repatriation of thousands of migrants would have involved a whole host of practical difficulties, especially for the élites of the communities to which they were returned. For Frézouls, it is unlikely that the Latin élites would have requested such a disruptive measure. Thus the expulsions of 187 and 177 were 'une réaction brutale contre l'ouverture de la cité' on the part of a conservative Roman ruling class.<sup>33</sup>

The practical difficulties of the policy of repatriation are important, as we will see in a moment. Frézouls' other argument, however, namely that the Roman senate felt great hostility towards the Latins resident at Rome and that that xenophobic sentiment was one of the main factors behind the decision to expel the immigrants, finds little support in the evidence. Livy's remark, appended to the passage for 187 BC in which the Latins make their first complaint about emigration, that 'already then a great number of foreigners was burdening the city,' sounds to me less like an expression of Roman xenophobia, and more like an attempt by Livy to assure his readers that the high figure of 12,000 Latins expelled from Rome, which they have just read, was indeed realistic even for the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>34</sup> Nor can the decision of Roman senators in 216 BC not to accept select Latin aristocrats as members of the senate, to help

---

<sup>33</sup> E. Frézouls, 'Rome et les Latins', (above n. 14) p. 127.



fill the vacancies left by the early disasters of the Hannibalic War, be used as evidence for general Roman hostility towards the lower class immigrants to the city in the 180s BC.<sup>35</sup> Frézouls' argument is ingenious, but is not strong enough to warrant a complete revision of the Livian account of the migration crisis in these passages. The ideological conservatism that Frézouls attributes to the Roman ruling class in this period is indeed discernible, but not in relation to the presence of immigrants at Rome. Their conservatism manifests itself more clearly in their unwillingness to re-think the appropriateness of the structure through which they and their predecessors had controlled Italy since the later 4<sup>th</sup> century. In this regard, the traditional interpretation of the episodes in question is the more convincing; but the proponents of that interpretation have tended not to look beyond the ideological problems, and so have failed to take account of the more practical issues involved.

For that middle Republican structure of control by cooperation between the Roman ruling class and the local élites of Italy, the ability in *practical* terms to react to the problem of migration is the other important side of the crisis of these years. The formulation of an ideological response by the interested parties is one thing; the practical implementation of that response is another, and is furthermore an aspect of the phenomenon that has received very little attention in modern accounts of this period.

As we saw above, preventing migration in the days before passports and border controls was almost impossible, both at the point of emigration and at the point of immigration. This difficulty did not stop the Roman senate from attempting nonetheless to improve the efficiency of the mechanisms by which illegal migration (at least to Rome) should have been caught and prevented. But even if these mechanisms had become more effective, they could not have redressed the already-existing imbalance in the distribution of population that was causing misery for the local élites while at the same time threatening Rome's ability to mobilize troops from Italy. For the resolution of that problem, the policy adopted, at least in the case of the Latins, was that of enforced repatriation.

---

<sup>34</sup> Livy 39.3.6: *iam tum multitudine alienigenarum urbem onerante*.

In other words, an attempt was made, on two occasions, forcibly to reverse the trends of emigration from the communities of Italy into the city of Rome by expelling immigrants from the latter and ordering them to return to their home towns. On the first occasion, in 187 BC, Livy records the expulsion of 12,000 Latins.<sup>36</sup> On the second occasion, ten years later, Livy does not record an exact figure; but there is nothing to suggest that the scale of the operation in that year was any smaller. As a straightforward remedy for the demographic imbalance caused by emigration, the forced repatriation of so many thousands of Latins might have looked good on paper, but must in practice have caused all kinds of new problems. On both of these occasions, thousands of individuals who had *chosen* to migrate to Rome were forced to leave, and were forced to return to towns in Italy where they would have had to live alongside the local élites who were directly responsible for their having been expelled.<sup>37</sup> The tension must have been great, and must have played its part in undermining the credibility and authority of the local élites.

In addition to the inevitable tension, there would also have been the practical problems of re-integrating the returning migrants into the community. Many, if not all, of these men will probably have sold their original property, will not have had very much in the way of wealth, and will have needed to find a new livelihood in their old towns. Our sources are unfortunately silent on the local consequences of the forced repatriations.<sup>38</sup> We have no idea what steps were taken to re-integrate the returning emigrants, or how successful any such steps might have been. We can, however, cite at least one parallel example from elsewhere that reflects the delicacy and difficulty of a situation in which a large number of individuals return to their former community in one instant. In 251 BC, Aratus freed the city of Sicyon from fifty years of tyranny by removing the tyrant Nicocles. Aratus then recalled from exile six hundred men who had been among the wealthiest citizens of Sicyon. The difficulty of dealing with the

---

<sup>35</sup> Livy 23.22.1-9. E. Frézouls, 'Rome et les Latins', (above n. 14) p. 124.

<sup>36</sup> Livy 39.3.6.

<sup>37</sup> E. Frézouls, 'Rome et les Latins', (above n. 14) p. 123, is exceptional in highlighting the importance of this consideration.

<sup>38</sup> The sources are such that we are simply not likely to hear about the troubles caused on a local level. Livy offers very little in the way of details of the internal affairs of Italian communities. Elsewhere, it is only by chance that we know, for example, from one reference in Cicero (*de Leg.*, 3.36), about internal tensions at Arpinum in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century over the question of the secret ballot.



inevitable property disputes and Aratus' peaceful resolution of the situation are described by Cicero in the *de Officiis*.<sup>39</sup>

But then he took note of the severe problem posed by the ownership of properties. On the one hand, he considered it wholly unjust that the exiles whom he himself had restored, and whose possessions others had seized, should be deprived of them, but on the other, he thought it hardly reasonable to dispossess those whose ownership was of fifty years' standing, for after that lengthy period many properties were possessed innocently by inheritance or by purchase or by dowries. He accordingly decided that these occupants should not be deprived of them, but that the previous owners should be paid compensation.

Having decided that the problem was to be solved by awards of money, he announced that he intended to go to Alexandria, and he gave instructions that the dispute should be left on the table until his return. He then swiftly travelled to join his host Ptolemy (II Philadelphus), the second king of Alexandria following its foundation. When he explained to the king his desire to free his native city, and his reason for doing this, that outstanding man readily obtained a huge subvention of money from the wealthy king.

On bringing it back to Sicyon, he called in fifteen leading citizens to advise him, and with them he reviewed the cases of those who were occupying properties not their own, and those who had lost theirs. He put valuations on the properties, and was able to persuade some to accept money and to abandon their occupancy, and others to regard it as more convenient to be paid the value of their properties rather than to have them restored to them. Harmony thus prevailed; all went off without complaint.

Aratus was dealing with exiles who were willingly and happily returning to their former homes; and he still needed a huge subvention of money – 150 talents, according to Plutarch's version of the story<sup>40</sup> – to ease the situation. In the case of the Latin cities in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, those returning home did so very much against their will; and their local leaders almost certainly would not have had large amounts of spare money with which to help them re-integrate themselves.

This picture of difficulty and disruption only holds true, of course, to the extent that the policy of repatriation was actually implemented successfully and

---

<sup>39</sup> Cic., *de Off.*, 2.81-2 (tr. P.G. Walsh). The point Cicero is making in this section of the *de Officiis* is that problems are caused whenever property is forcefully redistributed, i.e. when the peaceful example set by Aratus is not followed. The argument is typical of Cicero's traditional belief in property rights and his staunch opposition to the redistribution of land and to the cancellation of debts. Interestingly, just before relating the story of Aratus, Cicero draws attention to the downfall of the Gracchi as a result of their efforts to solve agrarian disputes by redistributing land (2.80).

<sup>40</sup> Plutarch, *Arat.*, 11.2.

to the extent that those who were thus repatriated actually remained in their former communities and did not simply emigrate again right away. Furthermore, the disruptive consequences themselves will have militated against the successful implementation of the policy. That such was the case with the first ordered repatriation in 187 is likely to have been part of the reason why a second expulsion was necessary ten years later. That this second round of repatriations was also only partially successful we know from Livy's account of the census of 173, from which it is clear that a significant number of Latins who were supposed to have returned to their home towns were in fact still resident in Rome.<sup>41</sup>

Now, finally, we can return to what little we know about the case of the non-Latin allied communities. It is important to keep in mind that the Romans seem only to have taken steps to check migration in the case of Latins who had moved to Rome. This raises the potentially very interesting question of the Samnites and Paelignians. In his account of 177 BC, Livy records an embassy from the Samnites and Paelignians claiming that they had lost 4,000 families (some 12-16,000 individuals) through emigration to Fregellae. Despite his thorough account of the measures taken on behalf of the Latin embassies, Livy mentions no response whatsoever from Rome on the question of Samnite and Paelignian migrants to Fregellae. The standard interpretation of this inactivity is that the Romans *could* not act, because they had no right to interfere in what was a matter between an autonomous Latin colony and two independent peoples of Italy. If this is true, the implication is that Italian allied communities got the short end of the stick when it came to crises of emigration. Rome's active policy, i.e. Roman willingness to provide a remedy, seems *not* to have extended to them. They were on their own; and as we've seen, the smaller communities of Italy seem not to have had much success in preventing emigration on their own.

---

<sup>41</sup> Livy 42.10.3: 'The consul L. Postumius had proclaimed before an assembly that of the allies of the Latin confederacy who had been obligated, under the edict of C. Claudius the consul, to return to their cities, no one should be listed at Rome but all in their own cities' (*L. Postumius consul pro contione edixerat, qui socium Latini nominis ex edicto C. Claudii consulis redire in civitates suas debuissent, ne quis eorum Romae, et omnes in suis civitatibus censerentur*).



The measures taken jointly by the Roman ruling class and the local élites of Italy seem either to have been ineffective, or to have brought about a whole new series of problems. Even when the élites of Italy called on Rome for help, the local problems caused by emigration remained. Either Rome took no action, as seems to be the case with the Samnites and Paelignians. Or Rome took measures which were largely ineffective. Or, as in the two known cases, Rome agreed to the forced repatriation of thousands of migrants, thereby creating new local tensions, the result being that, in many towns of Italy in this period, the potential for unrest deriving from the problems of emigration must have been great and must have ranked high among the concerns of the local élites.

### *Conclusion:*

From the later 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, Rome's system of control in Italy was based on the foundation of Latin and Roman colonies and on treaties of alliance with the various other communities of the peninsula. The smooth functioning of that system depended also on the mutually beneficial co-operation of the Roman ruling class and the local élites of the various Latin and allied communities. By the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the phenomenon of large-scale internal migration was clearly creating a problem for that system of control. That problem existed both for the Latin colonies (where the regulation designed to prevent such a problem was proving to be ineffective), and for the allied communities, like those of the Samnites and Paelignians who had lost some 4,000 families to emigration by 177. The *local* élites in towns that were suffering depopulation were unable to prevent the emigration of their own citizens, and so turned to Rome for help. The Roman ruling class attempted to respond firmly; but even so failed to bring the problem back under control.

The problem of migration appears regularly in Livy's account of the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century – it's there in 199, 198, 187, 177, and 173. The surviving text of Livy then disappears from 168 on. We then have that three-decade vacuum of sources before Appian and Plutarch take up the story again around 133, at which time Italy was suffering the famous 'agrarian crisis', which was obviously also related to the Roman state's inability to maintain a certain distribution of population in Italy.

For most of the middle Republic, the Romans had been very effective at planning and controlling the human map of Italy: they had planted colonies up and down the peninsula; and on several occasions they had moved whole communities of defeated peoples from one part of the peninsula to another. But when it came to large-scale migration on an individual level, the system of control that had been in place since the later 4<sup>th</sup> century proved vulnerable. What I would call the crisis of migration, already in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, was one of the ways in which Rome's middle Republican political mentality showed itself to be totally unsuitable for the control of what had become a vast Mediterranean empire.



## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

Within the population of Italy during the period between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, there does appear to have been a substantial group that was characterized by individual geographical mobility. The evidence for this group is often difficult to interpret and does not always tell us all that we would like to know. Precision as to the scale of the phenomenon, for example, is unlikely ever to be possible. From the cases examined above, we can safely conclude that the number involved runs into the many tens of thousands at the least; but we cannot put a more exact figure, even hypothetical, on the phenomenon in the same way that we can, for example, hypothesize that the number of individuals re-settled by Rome's programme of colonization in Italy during the same period must have been somewhere around 150,000. These kinds of difficulties, stemming from the nature of the available evidence, have, as we noted at the start, resulted in the widespread neglect of the phenomenon both by scholars interested in formal demography and by scholars of Roman Republican Italy more generally speaking.

The argument laid out above has sought to demonstrate that by going beyond a mere acknowledgement of the probable significance of internal migration and by attempting to reveal as much as possible about the qualitative aspects of the phenomenon, and about the individual choices that lay behind the patterns of migration that appear, we greatly increase our ability to interpret the literary and archaeological evidence for the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries and to understand more fully the transformation of Italy in this period. The strategy adopted in the present work has been to concentrate on two regional case studies in an effort to understand how the mobile segment of the Italian population behaved and then to relate that behaviour to the institutional and political context of the framework established by Rome for the control of Italy.

In the case studies, we saw first the close connection between patterns of migration and the existence or not of economic opportunities, and second the acceleration of the phenomenon beginning in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century and really taking off over the course of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. In the case of southern Latium, the evidence from the maritime colony of Minturnae revealed a clear transformation of the community both quantitatively, from a typically small citizen colony of probably 300 settlers to a much larger centre covering an area more than three times its original size, and qualitatively, from a guardpost on the *via Appia* to a thriving port city that was home to productive and commercial activity of diverse and far-reaching kinds. This transformation can only be understood if we appreciate the role of individual immigration in the history of Minturnae. Likewise, in the interior of southern Latium, behind the commercial activity of the port at Minturnae, the recent excavations at the site of the Latin colony of Fregellae have uncovered much material that expands our knowledge of the role of that colony as a central point, possibly politically and definitely economically, for the whole region of southern Latium, and as a major centre of immigration already by the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, showing that here too the results of patterns of internal migration are of central importance to our understanding of the city's history. Furthermore, it was not the juridical status of Latin Fregellae or of Roman Minturnae that attracted the immigrants; other colonies of Roman and Latin status were actually being abandoned in this same period. It is sufficient to recall the fate of Roman Sipontum and Buxentum, or of the Latin colony of Interamna Lirenas, to show that a higher juridical status in relation to Rome was not the key. We must point instead to the diverse economic opportunities of which there is plenty of evidence in both Fregellae and Minturnae, and to the regional importance of both cities, if we are to explain the patterns of immigration to these sites.

In the case of the Po Valley, internal migration must feature as a significant part of its history in this period, especially from the middle decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century on. The view of the region as an isolated backwater, unattractive to immigrants, must be discarded. We have seen how, following the conquest of the various Gallic tribes in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century, the outside perception of the region changed from one of a strange place infested with hostile men in trousers, to one of a fertile region with a host of opportunities to offer, as the remarks of



Cato and especially the fuller description of Polybius show. The ever growing archaeological record from the region also points to far-reaching commercial activity that included the Po Valley. The circumstantial evidence in favour of a high level of immigration to the region in the middle decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century is strong. More direct evidence then points to several patterns of migration both into and within the region: immigration to the early *emporia* along the line of the future *via Aemilia*; to some of the Latin colonies like Placentia and Aquileia; to the mining areas of the northwest; and probably also to the non-Roman cities of Mediolanum, Brixia, and Verona, whose continuity of occupation right through to the present day greatly hinders our ability to expand on the tantalizing scraps of evidence we have of their growth. The evidence of these and other patterns helps to explain the early Romanization of the non-colonial areas of the Transpadana and supports the view that the population of the region by the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC was substantially greater than it had been in the later 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

Out of the examination of the evidence of internal migration relating to the two areas of southern Latium and the Po Valley, there emerged a number of points that can be said to characterize the phenomenon of individual mobility in this period. As noted right from the start, the phenomenon operated independently of the Roman (or of any other) state. It was characterized by the choices of individuals in response to developments around them. As a result, it largely ignored the juridical distinctions that existed between different communities. It was motivated instead by the desire of individuals to pursue the best possible economic opportunities in an Italy in which the distribution of spatial inequalities was, at least in some areas, being completely re-arranged by the growth of the Roman empire, first in Italy itself, and then in the rest of the Mediterranean.

The implications of a phenomenon of this nature are many. In this thesis, I have focused on the relationship between, on the one hand, internal migration as an independently motivated phenomenon and, on the other, the political context of Roman rule in Italy. The background of mobility as revealed in the case studies casts doubt on the traditionally accepted existence of a special privilege to migrate, the so-called *ius migrandi*, allegedly possessed by the Latins in Italy. Much more consistent with the background of high mobility is a picture, which is supported by the other evidence as well, in which there existed a general

policy of openness (or rather a lack of policy altogether) towards immigrants on the part of the city of Rome and of most Italian communities. There existed no special privilege of migrating possessed by a certain limited group, but rather a restriction placed on one group, the Latin colonists, that obliged them to leave a son behind in the colony before they were allowed to change residence. Even this legal obligation, however, proved to be impossible to enforce successfully; and the inability of Latin colonies to prevent the emigration of their citizens along with the inability of the Roman government to remedy the problem with respect to their colonies, and the apparent unwillingness of that government to address the problem with respect to their non-Latin allies, resulted in an unresolvable crisis of migration in the early decades of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The Roman state, with the system of control it had established and maintained from the later 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, had, by the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, lost its ability to manage the human map of Italy. Internal migration must consequently be considered one of the major sources of strain that eventually led to the breakdown of Rome's middle Republican political framework in Italy: it is one of the factors that lie behind the descent into violence in Rome in 133 BC.

Not only in the political sphere, but also in several other areas of work on the history of Italy in the Republican period, a greater appreciation of the nature and importance of individual mobility should equally deepen our understanding of more general developments. In conclusion, I offer a few examples, progressing from a more individual to a more global level.

### *Social implications: family ties*

One of the more immediate social implications of a high level of internal migration regards the potential effect of the phenomenon on the level of the family. The language of the references to migration from Livy reveals the close connection. In many cases, we should certainly imagine families migrating together as units. In this regard, Livy's account of the Samnite and Paelignian embassy of 177 BC is suggestive in its reference to the migrants from Samnite and Paelignian territory to Fregellae as 4,000 *familiae*.<sup>1</sup> It should be noted,

---

<sup>1</sup> Livy 41.8.8.



however, that the explanation of Livy's choice of the term *familia* in this case is far from clear. We know that at Rome, the *pater familias* declared for everyone in his *potestas*, so there was no individual registration of all adult males. But why Livy speaks of *familiae* here in relation to the Samnites and Paelignians, but elsewhere seems to count in adult males for Latin colonies; whether it is a question of Livy's perception of the Appennine peoples or the reflection of some reality, will have to be the subject of further enquiries.

That some families managed to migrate without breaking ties, at least with the immediate unit, is obvious from the evidence relating to the problem of emigration from Latin colonies. The obligation of Latin colonists to remain in their colonies unless they left behind a son meant one of three things with regard to family ties. Either, traditional ties that held nuclear families together in the same location might have continued to be strong; the restriction thus would have prevented the emigration of fathers, if their sons were required to remain. Or, it might have been the case that already weakened family ties counted for little in the decision of individual members of a family to emigrate and to leave the rest of the family behind. Or, families that wished both to remain together as a unit and to emigrate from their Latin colony could have done so in evasion of the obligation placed upon them. We know that by the 180s and 170s BC, the number of families that opted for the third possibility was substantial, showing that, by evasion of the law, it was possible for many individuals to make choices that were both socially embedded and economically practical.

As with most things, an accurate picture will probably accommodate all three possibilities to a certain extent. It should not be excluded, however, that in many cases individual mobility and the severing of family ties went hand in hand. Though far from clear, it is possible that the wording, as it is given by Livy, of the edict expelling the 12,000 Latin immigrants from Rome in 187 BC implies that many of them were sons who had left their parents behind in the colony from which they had emigrated. The distinction made among the Latin immigrants was that the praetor was to find and expel any 'whom or the father of whom' (*ipsum parentemve eius*) had been registered in a Latin colony in or after the census of 204 BC.<sup>2</sup> The wording might simply reflect an effort on the part of

---

<sup>2</sup> Livy 39.3.5.

Rome to include as many as possible of the immigrants then living at Rome, including those whose fathers might have died only recently, and who as a result had made the move to Rome since 204, but had never themselves been registered in their home colony. On the other hand, the wording might also reflect a reality in which many sons had left their families behind to seek their fortunes in the capital. It is worth remembering in this context the other developments in Italian life in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century that would also have contributed to the geographical separation of family members and the consequent loosening of what in many cases would have been traditionally tight family ties. Among such developments, two obvious ones must have ranked high: the ever increasing burden of military service, often taking fathers and/or sons farther away from home and for much longer periods than ever before, as well as changes in agrarian structures that put increased pressure on the small family farm, reducing the ability of small-holders to provide for their families from the produce of their own land and thereby encouraging sons to break away and seek sustenance elsewhere.

#### *Implications for the study of economic change*

The frequently discussed changes in agrarian structures that affected much of Italy in this period bring us to another area in which the implications of a high level of individual mobility are substantial. A great deal of work has been done on the transformation of the economy of Italy as a result of its becoming the centre of an empire that by the end of the period in question spanned the Mediterranean world from Spain to the Euphrates. The series of changes that contributed to this process of transformation affected most aspects of the Italian economy: patterns of land-holding and labour in the countryside, commercial and industrial activity in cities, and levels of trade within the peninsula and overseas.

The basic starting point for the study of these developments is the model based on the similar accounts of Appian and Plutarch.<sup>3</sup> According to their model, the Romans confiscated large stretches of land from the peoples they conquered in Italy. Much of this land was then assigned to settlers in Roman

---

<sup>3</sup> Appian, *BC* 1.7f.; Plutarch, *Tib. Gracchus* 8.



colonial foundations or was sold; but large amounts remained unassigned and uncultivated. The Roman state allowed this unassigned land to be cultivated by anyone who wished in return for the payment of a modest rent to the public treasury. The policy was intended to increase the number of small-holding peasants, but failed. The wealthy few took possession of most of the land by force or by purchase. Once in control of large estates, the wealthy landowners employed slave labour to work them, slaves being readily available as a result of Rome's overseas conquests and having the distinct advantage – to their owners – of not being liable to serve in the Roman army. The effects of these changes were great. The rich became richer. The number of slaves on their estates increased. The poor suffered poverty, taxes and depopulation, a trend which in turn threatened the supply of manpower for the Roman army and which lay behind the political struggles of the Gracchan crises of the later 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

Other aspects of the transformation then follow on from this process of changes in patterns of land-holding. Life in the urban centres of Italy also underwent major changes. Perhaps the most immediately obvious feature would have been the appearance of many new cities, founded as part of the Roman programme of colonization. Within many of these centres and within many of the older cities of Italy there was an increase in the amount of commercial and industrial activity and a development of larger markets for the produce of the countryside. An increase in overseas exports from Italy reflected an increase in agricultural and industrial production, in part to meet demand from Roman soldiers and others overseas, and saw a corresponding increase in the commercial activity in Italy's port cities, as we saw particularly in the case of the port city at Minturnae.

Such are the general outlines of the transformation on which there is general agreement among most modern accounts, several of which we have already encountered above. Further precision with regard to the chronology, the nature, and the degree of these structural changes has, however, been the source of much debate among the last generation of scholars who have worked on the economy of this period. Here we can look at two influential works that continue to appear at the centre of debate on the subject and through them exemplify where a fuller appreciation of the importance of internal migration can provide a new way of making more of the evidence at our disposal.

The first is Toynbee's *Hannibal's Legacy*, which follows fairly closely the account of developments that appears in the sources themselves; but places greatest emphasis on the Second Punic War and on the devastations resulting from the years of Hannibal's presence in Italy as the turning point for structural change in the Italian economy.<sup>4</sup> So, in his view, the great volume of internal migration in this period only began when farmers began being forced off their land by the devastations of the war. One of the main lines of criticism of the Toynbee view has been of his insistence on the Hannibalic War as the turning point. Given the poverty of our evidence for the 3<sup>rd</sup> century – the '3<sup>rd</sup> century gap' – it is very difficult to say with certainty whether or not our evidence from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century represents novelties or merely accelerated stages of developments that had already begun to affect the economic structures of Italy in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> We have already seen in the cases of Minturnae and Fregellae a significant amount of growth already by the time of the Hannibalic War; in other words, over the course of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

The second highly influential work on the subject of the transformation of the economy of Roman Italy in this period is the product of a generation of Italian Marxist historians following in the footsteps of Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli and building on his Marxist interpretation of the artistic production of ancient Italy. This approach, combined with the changes in the priorities of much archaeological activity in the 1960s and 1970s laid the groundwork for the kind of studies published in the three volumes of *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*.<sup>6</sup> These studies, in working towards a clearer picture of the exploitation of slave labour in Roman society, spend much time on economic developments in Italy during the last two centuries BC, when the slave mode of production is meant to have been introduced as an innovation, and to have taken off on a massive scale, as part of a wider picture of enormous structural changes in this period. One criticism that was made immediately of the picture developed

---

<sup>4</sup> A.J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, vols. I-II (Oxford 1965), esp. volume II.

<sup>5</sup> See especially T. Cornell, 'Hannibal's Legacy: the effects of the Hannibalic War on Italy', in T. Cornell et al. (eds.), *The Second Punic War. A Reappraisal*. *BICS Suppl.* 67 (1996) pp. 97-117; and, most recently, E. Curti, 'Toynbee's Legacy: discussing aspects of the Romanization of Italy', in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds.), *Italy and the West. Comparative issues in Romanization* (Oxford 2001) pp. 17-26.

<sup>6</sup> A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (eds.), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* (Rome and Bari 1981).



along these lines was that it offered no explanation for the enormous structural changes of which it collects quite substantial evidence.<sup>7</sup> Crawford argued that the *slave mode of production* in Italy was nothing more than an epiphenomenon of the exploitation of an empire; that the increase in *production for export*, and the use of slave labour behind it, was to satisfy the demand of Roman soldiers and other Romans and Italians overseas. Others have downplayed the enormity of the changes of this period. Rathbone doubts the claim that the rise of the slave-worked villa system represented a great Roman innovation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, suggesting instead that the economic changes of this period were quantitative rather than qualitative.<sup>8</sup>

Whether or not there was a fundamental break from the past as part of the economic developments of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, there clearly were significant changes, if not qualitative, then at least quantitative. The point where a better appreciation of the phenomenon of internal migration can play an important role is in helping work towards a clearer understanding of the explanation that must lie somewhere behind these changes to which the evidence of villa sites and amphorae production are witness. Through a closer look at individual mobility, we can see the interrelationship between the choices made by individuals and the sweeping structural changes in the economic set-up. Individual choice cannot have stopped the larger process of structural change; but it can have influenced that process. Restoring the element of individual choice to the picture can only help in explaining what is otherwise viewed as some grand anonymous flow of structural change.

### *The transformation of Republican Italy*

In contrast to the picture of great structural change presented by the *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* volumes, the model developed by Horden and Purcell in *The Corrupting Sea* places the emphasis on the continuities of Mediterranean life across a long chronological scope. The high level of mobility that is part of that model, which we looked at above in Chapter

---

<sup>7</sup> M.H. Crawford, 'Intervento', in A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (eds.), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica* (above n. 6) III, pp. 271-83.

<sup>8</sup> D.W. Rathbone, 'The slave mode of production in Italy', *JRS* 73 (1983) pp. 160-8.

1, is not, then, the kind of movement that has to be linked to any great process of economic transformation: there was mobility without major changes to economic structures. There might have been some ebb and flow to this level of mobility over long stretches of time; but there was a basic continuity throughout. This view is decidedly macroscopic, both geographically and chronologically.

The view I have taken in the present work, the view of Italy between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, and in particular the view in the two case studies of southern Latium and the Po Valley, is much more microscopic. On this level, there was significant discontinuity. Minturnae, for example, was a new colony, a new feature on the landscape in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century; and its growth into a bustling port city was a new development of the following century, which is in turn linked to an acceleration of the trend of immigration.

These new factors changed both the patterns and the scale of internal migration. The phenomenon itself then contributed in turn to a substantial change in the composition and distribution of the Italian population, and so formed one of the major contributing factors in the process of transformation on all levels that resulted in the eventual emergence of an Italian context that was much more of a unit, even with its internal diversity, than ever before.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1965).
- C. Ampolo, 'Demarato. Osservazioni sulla mobilità sociale arcaica', *DdArch* 9-10 (1976-77) pp.333-45.
- P. Arthur, 'Assetto territoriale ed insediamento fra tardo antico ed alto medioevo nel bacino del Garigliano', in *Minturnae*, pp. 183-91.
- E. Badian, 'L. Papirius Fregellanus', *Classical Review* n.s. 5 (1955) 22-3.
- E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford 1958).
- E. Badian, 'Roman politics and the Italians (133-91 BC)', *DdArch* 4-5 (1970-1971) pp.373-409.
- P. Baldacci, 'Alcuni aspetti dei commerci nei territori cisalpini', *Atti, Ce.S.D.I.R.* 1 (1967-8) pp.5-50.
- P. Baldacci, 'Importazioni cisalpine e produzione apula', in *Recherches sur les amphores romaines* (Rome 1972) pp.7-28.
- D. Baldoni et al., 'Alcune osservazioni sulla romanizzazione della valle padana', in D. Vitali (ed.), *Celti ed Etruschi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale dal V secolo a.C. alla romanizzazione* (Bologna 1987) pp.397-404.
- G. Bandelli, *Ricerche sulla colonizzazione romana della Gallia Cisalpina: le fasi iniziali e il caso aquileiese* (Trieste 1988).
- G. Bandelli, 'Le clientele della Cisalpina fra il III e il II secolo a.C.', in *Optima Via*, pp.35-41.
- G. Bandelli, 'La popolazione della Cisalpina dalle invasioni galliche alla guerra sociale', in *Demografia*, pp.189-215.
- A. Barzanò, 'Il trasferimento dei Ligures Apuani nel Sannio del 180-179 a.C.', in M. Sordi (ed.), *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico* (Milan 1995) pp.177-201.
- M.-F. Baslez and Cl. Vial, 'La diplomatie de Délos dans le premier tiers du II<sup>e</sup> siècle', *BCH* 111 (1987) pp.281-312.
- M.-F. Baslez, 'La première présence romaine à Délos', in A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Meletemata* 21 (Athens 1996) pp.215-24.

- K.J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig 1886).
- K.J. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte bis zum Beginn der punischen Kriege* (Berlin-Leipzig 1926).
- A. Bernardi, 'Ius Ariminensium', *Studia Ghisleriana*, 1 (1948) pp.237-59.
- A. Bernardi, *Nomen Latinum* (Pavia 1973).
- L. Bertacchi, 'Il sistema portuale della metropoli aquileiese', *AAAd* 36 (1990) pp.227-53.
- L. Bertacchi, 'Il foro e la basilica forense di Aquileia. Gli scavi fino al 1989', *AAAd* 42 (1995) pp.141-155.
- J. Boersma and D. Yntema, 'The Valesio Project: Fourth Interim Report (campaigns of 1987 and 1988)', *BABesch* 64 (1989).
- J. Boersma, 'Valesio: città messapica e stazione viaria romana', *Ricerche e studi* 13 (1980-1987) pp.57-76.
- Les bourgeoisies municipales italiennes aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> siècles av. J.-C.*, Atti del Convegno, Napoli, 7-10 dicembre 1981 (Paris-Naples 1983).
- D.W. Bradeen, 'Roman citizenship *per magistratum*', *CJ* 54 (1958-9) pp.221-8.
- J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy Books XXXI-XXXIII*, (Oxford 1973).
- J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy Books XXXIV-XXXVII* (Oxford 1981).
- A.C. Brookes, 'Minturnae: the via Appia bridge', *AJA* 78 (1974) pp.41-8.
- B. Bruno, *Aspetti di storia economica della Cisalpina romana. Le anfore di tipo Lamboglia 2 rinvenute in Lombardia* (Rome 1995).
- P. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 BC-AD 14* (Oxford 1971; reissued with postscript 1987).
- P. Brunt, *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic* (New York 1971).
- E. Buchi, 'La romanizzazione del territorio veronese', in *3000 anni fa a Verona. Dalla fine dell'età del bronzo all'arrivo dei romani nel territorio veronese* (Verona 1976) pp.77-89.
- M. Cagianò de Azevedo, *Interamna Lirenas vel Sucasina* (Rome 1947).
- M. Cagianò de Azevedo, *Aquinum (Aquino)* (Rome 1949).
- A. Calbi, *Mobilità di persone e di famiglie della Cispadana romana* (Bologna 1997).
- A. Calderini, *Aquileia romana* (Milan 1930).
- E. Campanile, 'La mobilità personale nell'Italia antica', in idem (ed.), *Rapporti linguistici e culturali tra i popoli dell'Italia antica* (Pisa 1991).



- L. Capogrossi Colognesi, *Cittadini e territorio. Consolidamento e trasformazione della 'civitas Romana'* (Rome 2000).
- F. Càssola, 'La colonizzazione romana della Transpadana', in *Die Stadt*, pp.17-44.
- C. Castello, 'Il cosiddetto *ius migrandi* dei Latini a Roma. Ricerche in tema di concessione e accertamento degli *status civitatis et familiae* dal 338 al 95 av.C.', *BIDR* 61-62 (1958) pp.209-69.
- R. Chevallier, *Aquilèe et la romanisation de l'Europe* (Tours 1990).
- G.E.F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul: Social and economic history from 49 BC to the death of Trajan* (Oxford 1941).
- M.T. Cipriano and M.-B. Carre, 'Production et typologie des amphores sur la côte adriatique de l'Italie', in *Amphores romaines et histoire économique* (Rome 1989) pp.67-104.
- F. Coarelli and P.G. Monti (eds.), *Fregellae 1. Le fonti, la storia, il territorio* (Rome 1998).
- F. Coarelli, 'Public building in Rome between the Second Punic War and Sulla', *PBSR* 45 (1977) pp.1-23.
- F. Coarelli, 'Fregellae e la colonizzazione latina nella valle del Liri', *Arch. Laz.* 2 (1979) pp.197-204.
- F. Coarelli, *Fregellae: La storia e gli scavi* (Rome 1981).
- F. Coarelli (ed.), *Fregellae 2. Il santuario di Esculapio* (Rome 1986).
- F. Coarelli, 'Colonizzazione romana e viabilità', *DdArch* 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 6.2 (1988) pp.35-48.
- F. Coarelli (ed.), *Minturnae* (Rome 1989).
- F. Coarelli, 'Vescia: una proposta di localizzazione', in *Minturnae*, pp.29-33.
- F. Coarelli, 'I Sanniti a Fregellae', in *La Romanisation du Samnium aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> siècles av. J.-C. Actes du colloque international. (Naples 1988).*  
Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Naples: Deuxième Série 9 (1991) 177-85.
- F. Coarelli, *Lazio : Guida Archeologica Laterza*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Bari 1993).
- F. Coarelli, 'Viabilità e mercati nel Lazio', *Utopia* 4.2 (1995, publ. 1997) pp.199-211.
- F. Coarelli, 'La storia e lo scavo', in *Fregellae 1*, pp.29-69.
- A. Codagnone et al., 'La viabilità', in *Minturnae*, pp.143-7.

- A. Codagnone et al., 'Conclusioni', in *Minturnae*, pp.169-75.
- A. Codagnone, 'Il territorio di Minturno', in *Minturnae*, pp.87-96.
- G. Colasanti, *Fregellae. Storia e topografia* (Rome 1906; reprinted Rome 1983).
- G. Colonna, 'Un'iscrizione paleoitalica dall'agro tolfetano', *SE* 51 (1983) pp. 573-87.
- T. Cornell, review of M. Chassignet (ed., trans., and comm.), *Cato, Les origines (fragments)* (Paris 1986), in *JRS* (1988) pp.211-2.
- T. Cornell, 'The conquest of Italy', *CAH*<sup>2</sup> VII.2 (1989) pp.351-419.
- T. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome* (London 1995).
- T. Cornell, 'Hannibal's Legacy: the effects of the Hannibalic War on Italy', in T. Cornell et al. (eds.), *The Second Punic War. A Reappraisal. BICS Suppl.* 67 (1996) pp. 97-117.
- M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1984: An interim report on the work of the British team', *PBSR* 52 (1984) pp.21-35.
- M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-84: An interim report on the work of the British team, Part II', *PBSR* 53 (1985) pp.72-96.
- M.H. Crawford et al., 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1984: An interim report on the work of the British team, Part III', *PBSR* 54 (1986) pp.40-68.
- M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1974).
- M.H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome', *JRS* 71 (1981) pp.153-60.
- M.H. Crawford, 'Excavations at Fregellae 1981', *Arch. Laz.* 5 (1983) pp.84-7.
- M.H. Crawford, 'Scavi a Fregellae 1982-1983', *Arch. Laz.* 6 (1984) pp.133-6.
- M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic. Italy and the Mediterranean Economy* (London 1985).
- M.H. Crawford, 'Excavations at Fregellae, 1978-1985: An interim report on the work of the British team, Part IV', *PBSR* 55 (1987) pp.75-82.
- M.H. Crawford, *The Roman Republic*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1992).
- M.H. Crawford, 'La storia della colonizzazione romana secondo i Romani', in A. Storch Marino (ed.), *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore*, I (Naples 1995) pp.187-92.
- M.H. Crawford (ed.), *Roman Statutes*, 2 vols. (London 1996).
- M.H. Crawford, 'Italy and Rome from Sulla to Augustus', *CAH*<sup>2</sup> X (1996) pp.414-33.



- M.H. Crawford, 'How to create a *municipium*', in M. Austin et al. (eds.), *Modus Operandi. Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman. BICS Suppl. 71* (London 1998) pp.31-46.
- G. Cresci Marrone and E. Culasso Gastaldi, 'La documentazione', in *Per pagos vicosque: Torino romana fra Orco e Stura* (Padova 1988) pp.13-82.
- G. Cresci Marrone, 'Presenze romane in Altino repubblicana: spunti per una prosopografia dell' integrazione', in *Vigilia di romanizzazione. Altino e il Veneto orientale tra II e I sec. a.C.* (Rome 1999) pp.121-33.
- M. Cristofani, 'Etruschi nell'Agro Falisco', *PBSR* 56 (1988) pp. 13-24.
- M. Cristofani, 'Etruschi e genti dell'Italia preromana: alcuni esempi di mobilità in età arcaica', in E. Campanile (ed.), *Rapporti linguistici e culturali tra i popoli dell'Italia antica* (Pisa 1991).
- E. Curti, E. Dench, J. Patterson, 'The Archaeology of Central and Southern Roman Italy : Recent Trends and Approaches', *JRS* 86 (1996) pp.170-89.
- E. Curti, 'Toynbee's Legacy: discussing aspects of the Romanization of Italy', in S. Keay and N. Terrenato (eds.), *Italy and the West. Comparative issues in Romanization* (Oxford 2001) pp. 17-26.
- P.L. Dall'Aglia & G. Marchetti, 'Settlement patterns and agrarian structures of the Roman period in the territory of Piacenza', in G. Barker & J. Lloyd (edd.), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* (London 1991) pp.160-8.
- J.-M. David, *The Roman Conquest of Italy* (Eng. trans. by A. Nevill, Oxford 1996).
- O. de Cazanove, 'Le site lucanien de Civita di Tricarico: entre hellénisation et romanisation', *RA* (1996) pp.200-10.
- A. Degrassi, 'Il monumento riminese di Q. Oвий Fregellanus', *Ath.* 19 (1941) pp.133-140.
- A. Degrassi, 'Aquileia e l'Istria in età romana', in idem, *Scritti vari di antichità, I* (Rome 1962) pp.951-63 (= *Studi Aquileiesi offerti a G. Brusini* (Aquileia 1953) pp.51-65).
- M.A. De Lucia Brolli, 'Prospettive su Fabrateria Nova', *Arch. Laz.* 5 (1983) pp.104-11.
- S. De Maria, 'Bologna (*Bononia*) and the Reno Valley', in G. Barker & J. Lloyd (edd.), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean*

- Region* (London 1991) pp.96-105.
- F. De Martino, *Storia della costituzione romana*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Naples 1973).
- P.W. de Neeve, *Peasants in Peril. Location and Economy in Italy in the Second Century BC* (Amsterdam 1984).
- M. Denti, *I Romani a nord del Po* (Milan 1991).
- M. Denti, *Ellenismo e romanizzazione nella X regio: La scultura delle élites locali dall'età repubblicana ai Giulio-Claudi* (Rome 1991).
- S. Dominic Ruegg, *Underwater Investigations at Roman Minturnae. Liris-Garigliano River* (Jonsered 1995).
- A. Donati, 'Il più antico monumento arimense: semiologia e scrittura', in A. Calbi and G. Susini (eds.), *Pro populo arimense* (Faenza 1995) pp.393-8.
- U. Ewins, 'The early colonisation of Cisalpine Gaul', *PBSR* 20, n.s.7 (1952) 59ff.
- L. Ferrea, 'Teste votive di Fregellae,' *Arch. Laz.* 2 (1979) pp.207-8.
- P. Fraccaro, 'L'organizzazione politica dell'Italia romana', in *Atti CIDR I* (1934) pp.195-208 (=P. Fraccaro, *Opuscula I* (Pavia 1956) pp.103-14).
- E. Frézouls, 'Rome et les Latins dans les premières décennies du II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C.', *Ktema* 6 (1981) pp.115-132.
- B. Frier, 'Points on the topography of Minturnae', *Historia* 18 (1969) pp.510-12.
- B. Frier, 'Demography', in *CAH<sup>2</sup>* XI (2000) pp.787-816.
- E. Gabba, 'Rome and Italy in the second century B.C.', in *CAH<sup>2</sup>*, VIII (1989) pp.197-243.
- E. Gabba, 'La conquista della Gallia Cisalpina', in *Storia di Roma*, 2.1 (Turin 1990) pp.69-77.
- H. Galsterer, *Herrschaft und Verwaltung im republikanischen Italien* (Munich 1976).
- P. Garnsey, 'Economy and society of Mediolanum under the Principate', *PBSR* 44 (1976) pp.13-27.
- A. Giannetti, 'Testimonianze archeologiche provenienti dalla località Mèfete di Aquinum', *Rend. Linc.* 28 (1973) pp.51-61, pls. 1-2.
- A. Giannetti, 'La via Latina nell'agro della Cassino romana', *Rend. Linc.* 29 (1974) pp.87-92.
- A. Giannetti, 'Testimonianze archeologiche di Cassino preromana', *Rend. Linc.* 29 (1974) pp.81-85.



- A. Giardina and A. Schiavone (eds.), *Società romana e produzione schiavistica*, I-III (Rome and Bari 1981).
- A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (Manchester 1964).
- M.P. Guidobaldi and F. Pesando, 'La colonia *civium Romanorum*', in *Minturnae*, pp.35-66.
- M.P. Guidobaldi and F. Pesando, 'Note di prosopografia Minturnense', in *Minturnae*, pp. 67-81.
- M.P. Guidobaldi, 'La colonia *civium romanorum* di Minturnae', *DdArch* 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 6.2 (1988) pp.125-33.
- W.V. Harris, 'Roman expansion in the west', *CAH*<sup>2</sup> VIII (1989) pp.107-117.
- J.W. Hayes and I.P. Martini (eds.), *Archaeological Survey in the Lower Liri Valley, Central Italy, under the direction of Edith Mary Wightman*, BAR International Series 595 (Oxford 1994).
- A. Hesnard et al., 'Aires de production de Gréco-italiques et des Dr.1', in *Amphores romaines et histoire économique: dix ans de recherche. Actes du colloque de Sienne (22-24 mai 1986)* (Rome 1989) pp.21-65.
- K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge 1978).
- P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (London 2000).
- M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragium. L'organisation de la conquête jusqu'à la guerre sociale* (Rome 1978).
- J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae. Volume II: Inscriptions* (Rome 1933).
- J. Johnson, *Excavations at Minturnae. Volume I: Monuments of the Republican Forum* (Philadelphia 1935).
- J. Johnson, 'The theater at Minturnae', *AJA* 38 (1934) p.187.
- J. Johnson, 'The hill forts of Latium', *AJA* 58 (1954) p.146-7.
- H. Jones, *Population Geography*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1990).
- O. Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte* (Leipzig 1885).
- S. Keay et al., 'Falerii Novi: a new survey of the walled area', *PBSR* 68 (2000) pp.1-93.
- U. Laffi, 'Sull'esegesi di alcuni passi di Livio relativi ai rapporti tra Roma e gli alleati latini e italici nel primo quarto del II sec. a.C.', in A. Calbi and G. Susini (eds.), *Pro populo arimense* (Faenza 1995) pp.43-77.
- L. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer* (Berlin 1879).

- A. La Regina, 'Contributo dell'archeologia alla storia sociale: Territori sabellici e sannitici', *DdArch.* 2-3 (1970-71) pp.443-59.
- A. Lewis, s.v. *ius Latii*, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford 1996).
- E. Lo Cascio, 'I *togati* della *formula togatorum*', *AlIS* 12 (1991-4).
- E. Lo Cascio, 'The size of the Roman population: Beloch and the meaning of the Augustan census figures', *JRS* 84 (1994) pp.23-40.
- E. Lo Cascio, 'La dinamica della popolazione in Italia da Augusto al III secolo', in *L'Italie d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Rome 1994) pp.91-125.
- G. Luraschi, *Foedus, ius Latii, civitas* (Padua 1979).
- A.H. MacDonald, 'Rome and the Italian confederation (200-186 BC)', *JRS* 34 (1944) pp.11-33.
- E. Malcovati, 'L. Papirius Fregellanus', *Ath.* n.s. 33 (1955) pp.137-40.
- E. Mangani, F. Rebecchi, M.J. Strazzulla, *Emilia Venezie: Guida Archeologica Laterza*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Bari 1993).
- G.A. Mansuelli, 'La romanizzazione dell'Italia settentrionale', *Atti, Ce.SDIR* 3 (1970-71) pp.23-32.
- F. Maselli Scotti, 'Aquileia e il suo territorio agli albori del II secolo a.C.', in *Optima via*, pp.465-71.
- R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (eds.), *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1969).
- W.O. Moeller, *The Wool Trade of Ancient Pompeii* (Leiden 1976).
- T. Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 3 vols. (Leipzig 1887).
- J.-P. Morel, 'The Transformation of Italy, 300-133 B.C.: The evidence of archaeology', in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> VIII (1989) pp.477-516.
- N. Morley, *Metropolis and Hinterland* (Cambridge 1996).
- H. Mouritsen, *Italian Unification. A Study in Ancient and Modern Historiography*. *BICS Suppl.* 70 (London 1998).
- M.P. Muzzioli, *Cures Sabini (Forma Italiae, regio IV, vol.II)* (Rome 1980).
- C. Newell, *Methods and Models in Demography* (London 1988).
- E.T. Newell, *Two hoards from Minturno. Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 60 (New York 1933)
- C. Nicolet, 'Economy and Society, 133-43 B.C.', in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> IX (1994) pp.599-643.
- D. Noy, *Foreigners at Rome* (London 2000).



- S.P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy Books VI-X, I* (Oxford 1997).
- S.P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy Books VI-X, II* (Oxford 1998).
- R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5* (Oxford 1965).
- R. Osborne, 'The potential mobility of human populations', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10 (1991) pp.231-52.
- M.N. Pagliardi, 'Terracotte architettoniche di Fregellae', *Arch. Laz.* 2 (1979) pp.209-11.
- M.N. Pagliardi, 'Fregellae', *Arch. Laz.* 3 (1980) pp.183-7.
- M.N. Pagliardi, 'Fregellae', *Arch. Laz.* 4 (1981) pp.95-100.
- M. Pallottino, 'Rivista di epigrafia etrusca', *SE* 21 (1950-51) pp. 389-400.
- S. Panciera, *Vita economica di Aquileia in età romana* (Venice 1957).
- A.J. Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces*, BAR International Series 580 (Oxford 1992).
- T.G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* (Baltimore and London 1992).
- C. Peyre, *La Cisalpine gauloise du III<sup>e</sup> au I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 1979).
- A. Pinna, 'Il deposito votivo di Fregellae', *Arch. Laz.* 2 (1979) pp.205-6.
- L.M. Proietti, 'Il territorio di Castelforte e SS. Cosma e Damiano', in *Minturnae*, pp.121-41.
- N. Purcell, 'Wine and wealth in ancient Italy', *JRS* 75 (1985) pp.1-19.
- N. Purcell, 'The creation of provincial landscape: the Roman impact on Cisalpine Gaul', in T. Blagg and M. Millett (eds.), *The Early Roman Empire in the West* (Oxford 1990) pp. 7-29.
- N. Purcell, 'Mobility and the *polis*', in O. Murray and S. Price, *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander* (Oxford 1990) pp.27-56.
- L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Antemnae* (Rome 1978).
- D.W. Rathbone, 'The slave mode of production in Italy', *JRS* 73 (1983) pp. 160-8.
- E. Rawson, 'Fregellae: fall and survival', in *Fregellae 1*, pp.71-6.
- C. Ricci, 'Dalle Gallie a Roma', *RAN* 25 (1992) pp.302-23.
- C. Ricci, 'Hispani a Roma', *Gérion* 10 (1992) pp.103-43.
- C. Ricci, 'Egiziani a Roma', *Aegyptus* 73 (1993) pp.71-91.
- C. Ricci, 'Balcanici e Danubiani a Roma', in L. Mrozewicz and K. Ilski (eds.), *Prosopographica* (Poznan 1993) pp.141-208.
- C. Ricci, 'Germani a Roma', *Polis (Universidad de Alcalá de Henares)* 5 (1993)

pp.205-25.

- C. Ricci, 'Africani a Roma. Testimonianze epigrafiche di età imperiale di personaggi provenienti dal Nordafrica', *AntAf* 30 (1994) pp.189-207.
- D.O. Robson, 'The Samnites in the Po Valley', *CJ* 29 (1934) pp.599-608.
- G. Rosi, 'Il territorio di Scauri', in *Minturnae*, pp.97-119.
- R. Rossi, 'La romanizzazione dell'Italia settentrionale', *AAAd* 4 (1973) pp.35-55.
- E.T. Salmon, 'Roman Colonisation from the Second Punic War to the Gracchi', *JRS* 26 (1936) pp.47-67.
- E.T. Salmon, 'Roman expansion and Roman colonization in Italy', *Phoenix* 9 (1955) pp.63-75.
- E.T. Salmon, *Roman Colonization under the Republic* (London 1969).
- E.T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (London 1982).
- J. Šašel, 'I Dindii. Vicende ed economia di una famiglia di Praeneste', *ZPE* 43 (1981) pp.337-42.
- D. Scagliarini, 'Bologna (*Bononia*) and its suburban territory', in G. Barker & J. Lloyd (edd.), *Roman Landscapes: Archaeological Survey in the Mediterranean Region* (London 1991) pp.88-95.
- W. Scheidel, 'The demography of Roman slavery and manumission', in M. Bellancourt-Valdher and J.-N. Corvisier, *La démographie historique antique* (Arras 1999) pp.107-15.
- W. Scheidel, 'Progress and problems in Roman demography', in idem (ed), *Debating Roman Demography* (Leiden 2001) pp.1-81.
- G. Sena Chiesa and E.A. Arslan, *Optima via (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Postumia. Storia e archeologia di una grande strada romana alle radici dell'Europa, Cremona 1996)* (Cremona 1998).
- A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford 1973).
- M. Sordi (ed.), *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico* (Milan 1994).
- M. Sordi (ed), *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico* (Milan 1995).
- F.H. Stanley Jnr., 'Geographical mobility in Roman Lusitania: an epigraphical perspective', *ZPE* 82 (1990) pp.249-69.
- D. Stockton, *The Gracchi* (Oxford 1979).
- M.J. Strazzulla Rusconi, 'Onocles Dindi Tiberi servus. Note su alcune presenze prenestine ad Aquileia in età repubblicana', *Arch. Class.* 34 (1982) pp.98-138.



- M.J. Strazzulla, *'In paludibus moenia constituta: problemi urbanistici di Aquileia in età repubblicana alla luce della documentazione archeologica e delle fonti scritte'*, *AAAd* 35 (1989) pp.187-228.
- F. Sturm, *'Conubium, ius migrandi, conventio in manum'*, in R. Ganghofer (ed.), *Le droit de la famille en Europe* (1992) pp.717-28.
- L.R. Taylor, *The Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome 1960).
- A. Tchernia, *Le vin de l'Italie romaine. Essai d'histoire économique d'après les amphores* (Rome 1986).
- N. Terrenato, *'Tam Firmum Municipium: The Romanization of Volaterrae and its Cultural Implications'*, *JRS* 88 (1998) pp.94-114.
- Tesori della Postumia. Archeologia e storia intorno a una grande strada romana alle radici dell'Europa* (Catalogo della mostra, Cremona 1998) (Milan 1998).
- Y. Thomas, *'Origine' et 'commune patrie'. Étude de droit public romain (89 av. J.-C.-212 ap. J.-C.)* (Rome 1996).
- G. Tibiletti, *'Ricerche di storia agraria romana'*, *Ath.* 38, n.s. 28 (1950) pp.183-266.
- G. Tibiletti, *'Latini e Ceriti'*, in *Studi giuridici e sociali in memoria di Ezio Vanoni. Studia Ghisleriana*, ser. I.3 (Pavia 1961) pp.239-49.
- M. Torelli, *'Industria estrattiva, lavoro artigianale, interessi economici, qualche appunto'*, *MAAR* 36 (1980) pp.313ff.
- M. Torelli, *'Via Postumia: una strada per la romanizzazione'*, in *Optima Via*, pp.21-8.
- A.J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1965).
- P. Tozzi, *'Gli inizi della riflessione storiografica sull'Italia settentrionale nella Roma del II secolo a.C.'*, *Ath.*, fasc. spec. (1976) pp.28-50.
- F. Trotta, *'Minturnae preromana e il culto di Marica'*, in *Minturnae*, pp.11-28.
- J. Untermann, *Wörterbuch des Oskisch-Umbrischen* (Heidelberg 2000).
- D. Vera (ed.), *Demografia, sistemi agrari, regimi alimentari nel mondo antico* (Bari 1999).
- M. Verzár Bass, *'Contributo alla storia sociale di Aquileia repubblicana: la documentazione archeologica'*, in *Les «bourgeoisies» municipales italiennes aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>re</sup> siècles av. J.-C.* Centre Jean Berard. Institut Français de Naples, 7-10 décembre 1981 (Paris 1983) pp.205-15, plates

13-22.

Cl. Vial, *Délos indépendante*. BCH suppl. 10 (1984).

F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol.1 (Oxford 1957).

J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Landscape and History in Central Italy*, The 2<sup>nd</sup> J.L. Myres Memorial Lecture (Oxford 1964).

M. Wegner, *Untersuchungen zu den lateinischen Begriffen socius und societas* (Göttingen 1969).

L. Wierschowski, *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Historia Einzelschrift 91 (Stuttgart 1995).

A.J.N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester 1966).

T.P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his World* (Cambridge 1985).

T.P. Wiseman, *Roman Studies* (Liverpool 1987).

D. Yntema, 'Attività della missione olandese della Libera Università di Amsterdam a Valesio (BR)', *Ricerche e studi* 13 (1980-1987) pp.77-93.

D. Yntema, *In Search of an Ancient Landscape: the Amsterdam Free University Field Survey at Oria Province of Brindisi South Italy (1981-1983)* (Amsterdam 1993).

